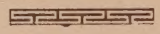
SIR FRANCIS BACON

BOOKS BY

BYRON STEEL



O RARE
BEN JONSON

SIR
FRANCIS BACON

SIR FRANCIS BACON

THE FIRST MODERN MIND

BY

BYRON STEEL [pseud.]

Francis Steegmüller

Garden City *New York*

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CHAPTER I

FRANCIS BACON was born of parents who were prominent in the affairs of Sixteenth Century England.

His father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England for the first twenty years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The excellence of his training in the law and his honesty as a judge were equaled only by his dullness as an orator and his fondness for Quintilian. He was noted for his dignity and moderation of manner, but there was one type of person toward whom he was not able to control his temper. I refer to those people (far from extinct in our own age) who took delight in punning on the name of Bacon.[1] Upon one occasion when he

[1]Wisdom is a characteristic of the Bacons, but none was more wise than the very founder of the family. He had the foresight to forestall the punsters by including a boar in his coat of arms.

was justice, there was brought before him a thief named Hogg, who pleaded for clemency upon the ground of kinship between the Hoggs and the Bacons. "Hah!" roared Sir Nicholas. "You and I cannot be of kin till you have been hanged!"

Sir Nicholas's second wife, whom he married shortly after he was made Lord Keeper, was Anne Cooke, the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, the tutor of King Edward VI. She was the accomplished product of her father's training. Her knowledge of Latin was so expert that she translated into English Bishop Jewel's *Apology for the Church of England*, and such was her accuracy that the bishop himself was unable to suggest the slightest change in her version. For thus lending her hand to a defense of the new English Church, Lady Bacon had been castigated as a heretic in a pamphlet by Robert Parsons, the Jesuit; she replied by declaring herself a Calvinist the moment the Church of England showed itself willing to compromise with Rome. She was a woman of versatile powers, of devastating efficiency, and of strong and imperious temper. She was as skilled in Greek as she was in Latin, as versed in the "arts of pies, puddings, and tarts" as in the classic tongues,

and she dominated her two sons until they were well into middle age.

When the Bacons were in London they inhabited a large dwelling on the Strand; it was called York House. Owned by the Archbishops of York, it was the traditional home of the Lord Keepers of England. In the rear, its spacious and beautiful gardens stretched down what is now the Embankment, to the Thames; and on the calm waters of the river the elaborately decorated royal barges, bearing the Queen on some errand or journey of pleasure, would frequently glide by under the very windows of York House.

The country house of the Bacons was called Gorhambury, and was close to St. Albans City in Hertfordshire. Sir Nicholas had bought it before his appointment as Lord Keeper. Shortly after his appointment the Queen visited him at Gorhambury and told him that the house was too small for him. "No," replied the Lord Keeper, "but your Majesty has made me too great for my house." Sir Nicholas began immediately to enlarge the old stone house, and when he married Lady Anne he was able to install her in a large, rambling mansion adorned with

spacious new wings and surrounded by wooded lands and gardens.

Although Sir Nicholas was of necessity much in London, it was at Gorhambury that his wife spent most of her time. When callers arrived they most often discovered her in her kitchen, surrounded by herbs, jelly pots, and game. In this manner she exasperated her servants and neglected her social duties; but so successful was her cooking that it was only a summons to a meal prepared by his wife that could force Sir Nicholas to lay aside his law or his Latin.

Francis Bacon was the second son of this domestic couple. His older brother Anthony, heir to the estates, was an able but always sickly youth; Francis was talented and extremely handsome. He was born at York House on the twenty-second of January, 1561 (new style).

There are in existence but the most meager shreds of information concerning the youth of Francis Bacon. Up to his thirty-first year there is scarcely one fact of his life which is of importance to a biographer.

Upon one occasion Sir Nicholas is said to have taken Francis to court and presented him to the Queen.

Elizabeth fondled his hair, called him "my young Lord Keeper," and asked him his age. To this question the child answered smoothly, "Just two years younger than your Majesty's happy reign!" To some biographers this precocious reply has seemed a prophecy of Francis Bacon's later skill at flattering royalty; to others, however, it seems but a tribute to the coaching abilities of Sir Nicholas.

At the age of twelve he was sent to Cambridge. He left the university without his degree and at the age of sixteen sailed for France as a member of the suite of Sir Amyas Paulet, English ambassador to that nation.

He remained in France for two years. The ambassador did not live solely in Paris, but traveled with his suite to Blois, to Tours, and to Poitiers, for in the châteaux of those cities the French court spent much of its time. Francis was delighted with his diplomatic adventures. He spent much time in devising an improved and intricate system of cipher writing which would baffle intriguers against England, and his manners took on an extreme elegance and polish. His attitude toward the French, however, was the usual British one of contempt. He wrote in his diary

about "the French king, Henry the Third, of thirty years of age, of a very weak constitution, and full of infirmities; yet extremely given over to his wanton pleasures, having delight only in dancing, feasting and entertaining ladies, and chamber pleasures." He gazed with youthful British disgust upon the intrigues, the bickerings, and the jealousies of the French nobility, the subserviency of the entire country to the Pope, the Queen Mother, and the King of Spain.[1]

Unlike many of the young Englishmen who visited France during that period (and during subsequent periods as well), Francis's behavior toward the young ladies of that land was so exemplary as to verge upon the abnormal. It is true that during his entire life he was to care but little for feminine society. The frequent and impressive letters from his mother and the constant domination of that lady may be partial explanation.

Sir Amyas Paulet was well satisfied with young Bacon, but he was forced to part with him in an abrupt manner. For one morning Sir Nicholas Bacon

[1]He admitted, however, that "the French are wiser than they seem," while "the Spanish seem wiser than they are."

was sitting in a chair in York House under the hands of his barber. Sir Nicholas was very corpulent, and the weather was sultry; he ordered the window directly in front of him to be thrown open. The fresh breezes fanned him to sleep, and after some time he awoke in a high fever. "Why did you suffer me to sleep thus exposed?" he demanded of his servant. "I durst not disturb your Lordship," the fellow replied. "Then," said Sir Nicholas solemnly, "by your civility I lose my life," and removing to his bedchamber he died after a few days.

The English embassy was at Poitiers when the news of Sir Nicholas Bacon's death arrived. Calling Francis to him, Sir Amyas Paulet informed him of that melancholy event, presented him with a letter to Queen Elizabeth in which the boy was described as "of great hope, endowed with many good and singular parts," assured him of his affection and sympathy, and bade him farewell.

Arrived in London, Francis was astounded to find himself penniless and entirely dependent upon the charity of his relatives. Old Sir Nicholas had definitely cared more for Francis than for the sickly Anthony, and the excellent foreign record of the

former had filled him with pride. Even before he had gone abroad Sir Nicholas had caused a portrait of Francis to be painted and a bust to be modeled, honors which he never paid to his older son and heir. Although Anthony would inherit the lands, Sir Nicholas had determined to purchase an estate for Francis when he should return from France. He had died before fulfilling that kind intention, and Francis's position was most uncomfortable.

It was impossible, despite his excellent record, that he should return to his post of attaché. Such a position was considered among the highest of honors available for English youths and was secured and held only by the payment of constant gratuities to the crown. It was imperative, therefore, that he look for something nearer home. He determined to seek a place at court in London, and, until that should be obtained, to occupy himself with the study of law. He therefore removed to chambers in Gray's Inn, and in them he was to spend a good half of his life. Fortunately for Francis, the Bacon family was a loyal and almost clannish one. Anthony aided him in securing his Gray's Inn chambers, frequently lived there with him, lent him a great deal of money,

and when he was himself low in funds borrowed for his brother. It cannot be said, however, that Francis devoted himself passionately to the study of law.

The inns of court, such as Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, the Inner Temple, and Middle Temple, corresponded, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries, to what we now call "finishing schools," except that they were for young men rather than for young ladies. All the youths enrolled in these inns were, supposedly, studying for the profession of law; few of them, however, took their studies with much seriousness. The inns were places where young men of good family, having finished or partially finished their university careers, could live in London. Here they could meet other youths whose influence or influential connections would aid them in their careers; they could penetrate, often, to at least the fringes of the court and begin an acquaintance with the great lords of London. In their leisure time they could devote themselves to whatever studies or pastimes they favored. In letters and documents of these times the inns of court are frequently mentioned and commended, not as institutions for the study of law, but as the most excellent places in

which a young man could live and make the beginning of his career.[1]

Lady Anne Bacon's sister had made an even more brilliant match than Anne herself; she had married William Cecil, who was now, in 1580, Lord Burleigh, Lord Treasurer of England, the most influential person at court, and the only man whom Elizabeth ever allowed to be seated while she conversed with him. Here, decided Lady Bacon, was a chance for her son, and she wrote Francis a vigorous letter addressed to Gray's Inn, urging him to apply to his influential London uncle for aid.

Francis did so; Burleigh replied in a manner which

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[1] "They could not have placed him [Beaumont] in a community more favorable to these ends [reproducing the life, manners, and conversation of young men of fashion about town] than that of the Inns of Court. As the name itself implies, the members were gentlemen of the Court of the King. They must be 'sons to persons of quality'; they must be trained to the possibility of appearance before the King at any time; they must be ready not merely as a privilege, but as a function, to entertain royalty upon summons. . . . Even after he ceased to be an inmate, the Inner Temple (or other Inn) would still be for him a club, in which by the payment of a small annual fee he might retain membership for life."—*Beaumont, the Dramatist. A Portrait,* by CHARLES MILLS GAYLEY, Litt.D., LL.D., New York, The Century Co., 1914.

seemed encouraging but which was certainly vague. After a little while Francis wrote again, asking more definitely for some appointment at court. The reply was similar. A third petition brought back a stinging reply from Burleigh, reproaching his nephew for his presumptuousness. Francis apologized, and for several years a steady stream of letters passed back and forth between nephew and uncle. Frequent audiences took place, also, and although Burleigh was always fairly polite toward his nephew he granted him no favors. The reason is obvious; Burleigh had a son of his own, a few months younger than Francis, and he was reserving his appointments for him. Young Robert Cecil, Francis's cousin, had been educated with the utmost care, initiated while still a boy into the mysteries of court intrigue, and was, at this time, ready to be pushed onto the stage of public activity. Francis petitioned in vain.

Much of Francis Bacon's time was spent in a manner peculiar, in these circles, to himself; he was undoubtedly the only member of Gray's Inn who spent hours, while in London, at the innocent pleasures of gardening. It was due to him that the walks and gardens of Gray's Inn became what they are to-day—

the most pleasant places in all London. The authorities of the inn permitted him to order countless trees, bushes, plants, and bulbs. With his own hands he planted a catalpa tree which Sir Walter Raleigh donated to the inn. Dozens of elms, birches, and cherry trees lined the walks and courts among the old buildings. He planned and constructed a terrace, rebuilt some of the chambers. Among the trees were planted woodbine, eglantine, and rose bushes; and along the walks bloomed pinks, violets, and primroses. Thus he spent his mornings, in transforming a dull quadrangle into a green and blooming square. In the evening Francis devoted himself to works of history and philosophy. Tacitus and Livy, Hippocrates and Aristotle occupied his nights. He also wrote short articles upon affairs of state, such as the problem of the Roman Catholic interests, which he hoped might fall into the hands of the Queen and make his fortune. What with the constant pursuit of Burleigh, the elaborate gardening operations, the study of history and philosophy, and the pamphlet writing, there would seem to have been little time for the study of law.

While Francis was busy at these many occupations

Anthony Bacon was becoming an adept at political intrigue. It was he who communicated to James, son of Mary, Queen of Scots, the state of affairs about the court of Elizabeth. In these matters James had a legitimate interest, for he was in line for the English throne. He sent frequent embassies to London under various pretexts, but in reality to discover how near Elizabeth was to death. The Queen was not ignorant of their purpose, and whenever a Scotch embassy was announced she managed to receive them while she was engaged in dancing or playing a vigorous game.

Owing to their business at court the brothers were forced to travel about London a good deal. But Anthony suffered continuously from gout, and Francis was of a rather languorous nature, preferring to sit over a book or under a flowering bush rather than walk the streets. For these reasons they purchased a fine coach. In this equipage, a type of which but few were to be seen in London, and those only in the possession of the most wealthy and magnificent of the nobility, Francis and Anthony rolled about the city on their business. So narrow and tortuous were some of the streets of Tudor London that the coach

often scraped the fronts of the houses as it passed along.

When Lady Bacon heard of this incredible piece of extravagance she wrote her sons a furious and high-handed letter in which she deplored not only their effeminacy in traveling in a coach, but also other habits into which she had heard they had fallen. They stayed up late at night, she heard, and did not arise, frequently, until almost noon—and then only to waste their time. They gave luxurious dinners in their rooms, at which they served the most costly meats and the finest wines. She suggested that they pray twice a day with their servants, for she knew that they were neglecting their religious duties.

The boys smiled at the mention of their costly dinners; the meats which they served were sent by Lady Bacon herself from Gorhambury, and so generous was she with her supplies that it would have been impossible for the boys to devour them unassisted. The dinners were pleasant; they were exquisite rather than boisterous, and the other students of the inn often considered the Bacons arrogant and over-dainty.

At the age of twenty-four Francis, owing to some

vague influence about the court, was elected to Parliament. He sat for the small village of Melcombe Regis, and when the discussion touched radical reforms in the Church he arose and said, "Sir, the Church (the subject we talk of) is the eye of England; if there be a speck or two in the eye we endeavor to take them off; he would be a strange oculist who would pull out the eye." That neat simile is the only speech of Bacon's from this Parliament which is preserved.

Four years later he was elected a member from Liverpool, and though he spoke constantly, distinction in Parliament eluded him, as did favor at court.

His debts about London became enormous.

A certain plan, however, had been growing in the head of this young man who was supposed to be studying law. In his coach and in his gardens, but especially over his books, he meditated on a scheme which was neither legal, political, nor horticultural.

CHAPTER II

It was during his twenty-fifth year that Francis Bacon published his first philosophical essay, which he entitled *Temporis Partus Maximus*, or *The Greatest Birth of Time*. This work, the resonance of whose title is equaled only by the oblivion into which it has fallen, is important only because it is the first indication that he was to write philosophy at all. For the succeeding six years he remained philosophically silent; but at the age of thirty-one he suddenly revealed a project which, though it seems incredibly wild in conception, was destined to at least partial fulfillment. Although the extent of Bacon's achievements in philosophy has been frequently questioned, the extent of his projects remains so vast as to seem merely pompous.

It was in a letter to Lord Burleigh (the culmination,

and the most eloquent, of those letters seeking political preferment, which have already been referred to) that Bacon announced this plan. He wrote:

. . . Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province. This, whether it be curiosity or vainglory . . . is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed. And I do easily see, that place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than of a man's own; which it is the thing I greatly affect.

The tact of this letter may be disputed; it would seem scarcely diplomatic to boast to a man like Burleigh, who was totally enamored of politics, that one desired political greatness only as a means to some other achievement. The extent of Bacon's purpose may make us gasp; it made Burleigh merely frown impatiently, and one of the reasons for his refusal to advance Bacon politically was undoubtedly his dis-

trust of a man full of a project so vast, so airy, and so philosophical.[1]

What did Bacon mean, exactly, when he thus declared himself, at the age of thirty-one, determined to reform all knowledge? When and why had he conceived this determination? Let us seek answers in his past life and in his future works.

In his old age Bacon told his chaplain that even during his university days he had been dissatisfied with the contemporary state of knowledge. This statement has been frequently ridiculed as legendary and silly, for Bacon was only fifteen when he left Cambridge. But an excellent substantiation of his story is the fact that he left the university without his degree; and if this shows him dissatisfied with the university he would seem necessarily to have been dissatisfied with the state of contemporary knowledge. For in Bacon's age (a time so different in this

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[1]It is significant that Burleigh's only response to this letter was to promise Bacon the reversion of a minor office. As it happened, this office did not become vacant for twenty-one years. When a friend congratulated Bacon he replied that the possession of a reversion was like having another man's lands near one's house; they improved the prospect but did not fill the barn.

respect, as in others, from our own) knowledge, or learning, was to be gained almost entirely at the universities. It may thus be stated with considerable assurance that although Bacon did not announce his grand project until he was thirty-one, it had been in his mind, in a more or less germlike state, since his university days.[1]

In Bacon's time the curriculum of a university remained largely what it had been at the time of the foundation of the institution several centuries before. It consisted of the study of Aristotle and, in imitation of him, the application of dialectic to countless questions. These questions concerned theology almost exclusively; an occasional discussion

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[1] "It is a question which recurs continually to readers about those times and their precocious boys, what boys were then? . . . Grotius at eleven was the pupil and companion of Scaliger and the learned band of Leyden; at fourteen he was part of the company which went with the ambassadors of the States-General to Henry IV; at sixteen, he was called to the bar. . . . If this was precocious, there is no indication that it was thought precocious. It only meant that clever and promising boys were earlier associated with men in important business than is customary now. . . . Perhaps they felt that there was less time to spare. In spite of instances of longevity, life was shorter for the average of busy men, for the conditions of life were worse." —DEAN CHURCH, *Bacon*. (English Men of Letters Series.)

of ethics might arise, but the natural sciences were neglected.

Bacon's objections were aimed, not only at the sort of question to which Aristotle's method was applied, but at the method itself.

When the Aristotelian dialectic was employed by a man of large intelligence, such as Aristotle himself, it aimed at the demonstration of some particular fact. When the method was used by someone of narrower intelligence, its aim was no longer honest demonstration, but mere persuasion. But neither by demonstration nor by persuasion can one wrest a new fact, a new truth, from nature; by them one can but convince someone else of a truth which is (supposedly) already known. The aim of Aristotle's method was to teach rather than to discover.

But Bacon realized that many truths were still to be discovered, and that discovery of new facts was more important than demonstration of old ones, many of which might be proved false anyway.

Aristotle himself had discussed the natural sciences, but his scientific treatises took the form of mere lists of natural occurrences and legends concerning natural objects. Bacon believed that scientific princi-

ples and laws do not lie exposed, on the surface of a list of nature's happenings. Artificial methods must be applied to nature; natural facts must be placed in strange and unnatural juxtapositions and combinations from which a new fact may result. This is all to say that Bacon believed not in the method of classification, but in that of experiment; for an experiment is an artificial combination of known facts for the purpose of discovering unknown ones.

Such were Bacon's objections to Aristotle's method when applied to the natural sciences.

But in the hands of the later philosophers the method was not applied to nature at all. These philosophers of the universities—Schoolmen or Scholastics, as they were called—were devoted not to the cause of valuable inquiry, but to the mere name of Aristotle. They applied his method to the most trivial and unscientific questions.[1] Bacon compared them to the Olympic wrestlers, who abstained from important labors that they might be fit for unimportant ones. Their aim was either to persuade their opponent of

[1] Everyone has heard of the medieval discussion as to how many angels can dance on the point of a needle.

the truth of some unimportant, superstitious, or ridiculous assertion, or, on the other hand, to prevent him from doing so by branching out into such countless side issues and objections as to make persuasion impossible. It is easy to see how this method of procedure would delight in the tortuous discussions of theology, and how it would fail utterly to be of service in the cause of discovery.

Bacon himself says:

> This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign amongst the schoolmen; who having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle their dictator) as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges, and knowing little history, whether of nature or time, did out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books.

Bacon took "all knowledge" to be his province. He wished to purge the realm of learning of two errors: idle disputation concerning fruitless questions and discussion of a fruitful question (natural science) by an ineffective method (that of the schools). It was for this purpose that Bacon evolved the vast

scheme which he called his *Grand Instauration of the Sciences.*

The *Grand Instauration* was to be a complete reformation of the study of philosophy—and, indeed, of philosophy itself—based upon conclusions arrived at through experiments. Every philosophical work, except two, which Bacon wrote during his life was designed as a part of the whole *Instauration.* The *Novum Organum,* for example, and *The Advancement of Learning,* though usually thought of as complete in themselves, are but "parts of one stupendous whole."[1]

One frequently reads in popular articles on Bacon (as in secondary-school histories of English literature or of philosophy) the statement that Bacon was "the founder of modern science." By this is meant that he "originated the inductive method," and that no one before him had escaped from medieval methods of scientific procedure.

But modern philosophers are divided over Bacon's

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[1]It need hardly be stated that the entire *Instauration* was never completed. The Appendix contains a plan of the whole scheme and indicates how Bacon's completed philosophical works fit into it.

philosophical achievements, and even that group of philosophers which admires him most does not make for him such extravagant claims. Bacon is not accepted by all thinkers as a great philosopher; he is not scorned by all thinkers as a mere rhetorician. He was lavish in his philosophical claims as he was in his living, but while the latter brought him to partial eclipse, the former has kept him a center of controversy.

CHAPTER III

SOON after he wrote Burleigh the letter concerning his grand philosophical plan Bacon was becoming intimate with Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Essex was at this time the reigning favorite at court. Elizabeth's feeling toward him has been variously described, as from that of a mother to that of a mistress. He was young, handsome, and brilliant, and as skillful in political hinting as in the arranging of court entertainments.

The value of this friendship for Francis is evident; Essex did his best to get him a place at court. It would seem, however, that neither Bacon nor Essex was, in this matter, a tactful person; between them they accomplished very little.

The letter to Burleigh was an example of Bacon's lack of tact; another evidence may be found in one

of his speeches in the Parliament of 1592. At this time it was suspected that Spain was plotting with Scotland against England. It was deemed that immediate defense preparations were necessary, and Elizabeth demanded that Parliament pass a measure to collect an unprecedented sum in taxes in a brief period. During the debate Bacon (who should of course have obliged the Queen in every respect if he desired a position in her court) arose and declared: "It is impossible; the poor men's rent is such as they are not able to yield it, and the general commonalty is not able to pay so much upon the present. The gentlemen must sell their plate, and the farmers their brass pots, ere this will be paid."

Needless to say, this did not please the Queen, and she told Burleigh she considered his young nephew insolent and unwise. It took Bacon several years to learn his lesson, but five years later, when a measure came up to collect an even larger sum, he declared himself in its favor.

In this same year, 1592, Bacon did secure a minor commission, which is supposed to have been due to Essex's influence. A pamphlet had been published on the continent, entitled "Responsio ad Edictum

Reginæ Angliæ," and then translated into English and circulated in England. It contained almost hysterical denunciations of Elizabeth's strict anti-Catholic legislation since the defeat of the Spanish Armada. It was supposed that this pamphlet was written by the same Father Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, who had written against Bacon's mother. He was one of the ablest of the Roman Catholic pamphleteers who were flooding England with propaganda and all Europe with propaganda against England. This pamphlet the English government felt to be dangerous, and Bacon was chosen to answer it. Since the charges were directed mostly against his uncle Burleigh, Francis considered this an excellent opportunity to endeavor once more to secure that person's favor. He made the most of it; his reply, "Observations on a Libel," was long and detailed; it took up each charge at great length and with seriousness, and it need scarcely be said that it was as anti-Catholic as the pamphlet it answers was anti-Protestant.

In 1593 the important office of attorney general became vacant, and Essex and Bacon set to work to get it for the latter. The two Cecils, father and son,

did not approve of Essex's influence over the Queen; this fact made them more determined than ever that Bacon should not secure the place. They determined to secure it for Sir Edward Coke,[1] and bent all their influence in that direction.

Essex was almost violent in his efforts for Bacon. He

[1]The name of Sir Edward Coke will be mentioned so frequently in these pages that it may be well to present a brief biography of him at once.

He was born at Mileham, in Norfolk, February 1, 1552. From the grammar school of Norwich he passed to Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1572 entered Lincoln's Inn. In 1578 he was called to the bar. His extensive and exact legal erudition and the skill with which he argued several intricate cases soon brought him an enormous practice and caused him to be universally recognized as the greatest lawyer of his day. He was the most exact and painstaking of men.

His profits from the law were enormous, and he was noted for his miserliness. When a friend told him that his sons would spend his estate faster than he got it, he replied, "They cannot take more delight in the spending of it than I did in the getting of it."

He was also noted for his unpleasantness and brutality toward prisoners who were brought before him. His conduct toward Sir Walter Raleigh, during Sir Walter's trial, was disgusting and disgraceful.

He always undervalued Bacon's law, and the men were destined to be two of the most perpetual and famous rivals in English history. Since the two men were never in power at the same time, each contributed to the fall of the other. Coke fell several times, but always returned to power. He outlived Bacon by twelve years, and died, much revered, at the age of eighty-six.

expostulated, pleaded, and argued with Elizabeth, but she kept all in suspense for almost a year.

Robert Cecil, Bacon's young cousin, was on the point of being made secretary of state at this time, and one day as he was riding in the same coach with Essex a remarkable conversation took place between the hostile courtiers.

"My Lord," said Sir Robert Cecil, "the Queen has determined to appoint an attorney general without more delay. I pray your lordship to let me know whom you will favor."

"I wonder at your question," replied the Earl. "You cannot but know that resolutely, against all the world, I stand for your cousin, Francis Bacon."

Sir Robert seemed unable to bridle his temper. "I wonder your lordship should spend your strength on so unlikely a matter. Can you name one precedent of so raw a youth promoted to so great a place?"

This objection, thought Essex, came strangely from a man who, though younger than Bacon, was in daily expectation of being made secretary of state. Therefore the Earl, who seldom hesitated to speak his mind, said, "I have made no search for precedents of young men who have filled the office of attorney general.

But I could name to you, Sir Robert, a man younger than Francis, less learned and equally inexperienced, who is suing and striving with all his might for an office of far greater weight."

Sir Robert had nothing to reply but that he thought his own abilities equal to the place which he hoped to obtain, and that his father's long services deserved such a mark of gratitude from the Queen.

"As to abilities," retorted Essex, "your cousin is as able as any young man in the kingdom; and concerning your father's long services, do not forget that your cousin's father was lord keeper for twenty years."

Cecil then hinted that, if Bacon would be satisfied with the office of solicitor general (the office below that of attorney general) it might be of easier "digestion" to the Queen.

"Digest me no digestions!" cried the Earl in a somewhat startling manner. "The attorneyship for Francis is what I must have; and in that I will spend all my power, might, authority, and amity, and with tooth and nail procure the same for him against whomsoever; and whosoever getteth this office out of my hands for any other, before he have it, it shall

cost him the coming by. And this be you assured of, Sir Robert, for now I fully declare myself; and for my own part, Sir Robert, I think strange both my Lord Treasurer and you that can have the mind to seek the preference of a stranger before so near a kinsman; for if you weigh in a balance the parts every way of his competitor and him, only excepting five poor years of admitting to a house of court before Francis, you shall find in all other respects whatsoever no comparison between them."

It would seem, however, that Essex was tactless in his efforts for Bacon, that he was too importunate with the Queen and thus aroused her stubbornness. For she granted the request of the Cecils, and in April, 1594, Coke was made attorney general.[1]

Bacon was discouraged. He was poor and in debt: an obscure lawyer given an occasional commission by the Queen, but with no permanent or financial result. His close relatives, despite their enormous influence, were the opposite of helpful. He wanted a life of influence and leisure in which to bring to

[1]Lady Bacon hit the nail on the head when she wrote to Francis: "Though the Earl showed great affection, yet he marred all with violent courses."

fruition his grand philosophical plans; the business of the law took up too much time and brought in no money. Attendance at court, which was absolutely necessary unless he utterly abandoned hope of a place, was expensive. Even his friendship with the Queen's favorite seemed without avail. And so, amid increasing debts and grumbling debtors,[1] Bacon spoke gloomily of retiring to Cambridge to spend the rest of his life in studies and contemplation. He also did not refuse to repeat stories (which he pretended to disbelieve) about the Cecils and their rumored abuses of power.

Essex, however, turned at once to seek the lesser place of solicitor general for Francis. But even this failed. Thereupon the Earl, whose generosity and sincerity of heart toward Francis were unbounded, presented him with an estate, which was really a confession of inability to do anything for him politically.

Parts of Bacon's letter of gratitude are important:

. . . It may please your good Lordship—I pray God her Majesty's weighing be not like the weight of a balance;

[1]Francis Bacon was once, during this period, arrested on the street, at the suit of a goldsmith to whom he owed money, and carried to a sponging house.

gravia deorsum levia sursum. But I am as far from being altered in devotion towards her, as I am from distrust that she will be altered in opinion towards me, when she knoweth me better. For myself, I have lost some opinion, some time, and some means; this is my account; but then for opinion, it is a blast that goeth and cometh; for time, it is true it goeth, and cometh not; but yet I have learned that it may be redeemed. For means, I value that most; and the rather, because I am purposed not to follow the practice of the law (if her Majesty command me in any particular, I shall be ready to do her willing service); and my reason is only, because it drinketh too much time, which I have dedicated to better purposes. But even for that point of estate and means, I partly lean to Thales' opinion, That a philosopher may be rich if he will. . . . For your Lordship, I do think myself more beholding to you than to any man. . . . Your Lordship's to obey your honourable commands, more settled than ever.

FRAN. BACON.

It was soon after this that Essex, having failed to aid Bacon in the matter of politics, endeavored to gain more success at that of matrimony. A wealthy wife, they decided, was as valuable for a young man with philosophical ambitions as a place at court; and they turned their eyes upon Lady Hatton, a young, clever, beautiful, and enormously rich widow. Lady Hatton's stepmother was Bacon's aunt; he had

known her as a girl, before her marriage. He now wrote letters to her, and Essex did likewise. But, to their amazement, she not only declined their offers, but married Coke! It was a *bon mot* about London that there were seven reasons for anyone not to marry Coke—his six children and himself. His marriage with Lady Hatton was not, later, without its effect upon Bacon's career.

By the end of the year, however, Bacon had recovered sufficiently from his disappointments to take part in a merry and boisterous entertainment at Gray's Inn.

Each of the inns of court had certain customs peculiarly its own. Gray's Inn, for example, took great pride in the Christmas revels which its members, often aided by the Inner Temple men, staged every winter.[1] For the three or four years before 1594,

[1] "Much as the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn favored the drama and costly entertainments on the major feast-days, they were outdone in Christmas revels and masques and plays by the closely affiliated societies of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple. 'Between these Houses,' says Mr. Douthwaite, the historian of the former, 'there appears anciently to have existed a kindly union, which is shown by the fact that on the great gate of the gardens of the Inner Temple may be seen to this day the "griffin" of Gray's Inn, whilst over the great gateway in Gray's Inn

however, this custom had been allowed to lapse, and in that year the students of the inn determined to present something out of the common way, to redeem the lost time. In the past the usual device had been to turn Gray's Inn into the semblance of a court or a kingdom, and to entertain the residents and their guests during the twelve days of Christmas licence with playing at kings and counselors. They staged mock trials and ended the festivities with a general dance.

In 1594, however, in the resolution to present something extraordinary, it was decided to have several Grand Nights, and the first of these occurred on December 28th.

On this evening the "Prince of Gray's Inn" had sent an official invitation to the "ambassador from their ancient allied friend the Inner Temple" to witness the proceedings; this dignitary arrived and was escorted, by a procession and the blasts of trumpets, into the Great Hall of Gray's Inn with much pomp and solemnity. He advanced slowly down the hall,

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Square is carved in bold relief the "winged horse" of the Inner Temple.' The two societies had long a custom of combining for the production of theatrical shows."—GAYLEY, *op. cit.*

between the crowds of guests—it was a "splendid company of lords, ladies and worshipful personages that did expect some notable performances"—and took his seat beside the prince, his host, upon a platform.

The performances should now have begun. But the number of guests increased to such proportions that they not only packed the hall but overflowed the stage. The actors, who were about to present an elaborate series of masques and dances, discovered that there was no room for them on the stage! The ambassador, disappointed of the spectacle for which he had been invited, retired with his train in discontent. The "courtiers" of Gray's Inn tore their hair. When the tumult had partly subsided they were obliged (in default of those "very good inventions and conceipts" which had been intended) to content themselves with ordinary dancing and reveling.

When the reveling had ceased and the stage cleared, the players presented a performance of a "Comedy of Errors." "So," declares the official chronicler of the evening, "that night was begun, and continued to the end, in nothing but confusion and errors,

whereupon it was ever afterwards called the Night of Errors."

The next day, at a "legal inquiry," the officials of Gray's Inn determined to recover their prestige by a magnificent performance on the night of January 3d, at which nothing was to go wrong. This second spectacle proved to be truly magnificent, with processions, dumb shows illustrating the reconciliation of the two societies, a ceremony of knighting, much concert music, and an elaborate banquet.

After the banquet (which undoubtedly consumed a vast amount of time) followed the part of the entertainment which Francis Bacon had composed. It was a long series of addresses by six counselors to the prince, giving him advice as to the government of his state. These speeches, which Bacon had composed in his most dignified and oratorical manner, advised the prince to practise Warfare, the Study of Philosophy, Eternizement and Fame by Buildings and Foundations, Virtue and a Gracious Government, and finally Pastimes and Sports. If he practised all those, declared the counselors, the state would be wealthy, powerful, learned, and pleasant. The speeches aroused great applause (it is difficult

to imagine anyone being entertained by them now); the prince answered them, and then, after a general dance, the evening ended.

> The performance of this night's work [reads the report] had been so very carefully and orderly handled, that it did so delight and please the nobles and the others auditory, that thereby Gray's Inn did not only recover their lost credit and quite take away all the disgrace that the former Night of Errors had incurred, but got instead thereof so great honour and applause as either the good reports of our honourable friends that were present could yield, or we ourselves desire.

This was the last of the Christmas holidays for Gray's Inn; the next morning the great hall was stripped of its scaffoldings and regal furniture and the youths turned from the performance of mock trials to the supposed study of veritable ones.

Francis Bacon achieved considerable repute for his part in the performance; it is possible that he aided in a good part of it; the speeches he wrote entirely himself.

In a few days Lady Bacon wrote a letter to Anthony in which she referred to Francis's disappointment of the solicitor's place, and the fact that the Christmas revels had included a Sabbath:

With a humble heart before God, let your brother be of good cheer. Alas! What excess of bucks at Gray's Inn! And to feast it on the Sabbath! God forgive and have mercy upon England!

Lady Bacon now spent all her time at Gorhambury. She never desisted from interfering with her son's affairs. Her religious strictness had become practically a mania; she was at times "little better than crazed." At times she spent much of her time alone in her room, surrounded by religious books. At this time one of her menservants, in despair at her madness and imperiousness, had written to Anthony in London:

I thought good to write unto you to certify you of my Lady's great unquietness in the house. Since her last falling out with me she showed a good countenance. I had a sparhawk given me and she killed a brace of partridges, and then I came home before the evening was shut in: indeed all the folk had supped. Whereat she seemed to be very sore angry, with these words: "What, come you home now? I would you and your hawk would keep you away altogether. You have been a-breaking of hedges between neighbour and neighbour; and now you come home out of order and show an ill example in my house. Well, you shall keep no hawk here."

"I am the more sorrier. I have given no cause that your

Ladyship should be offended, nor will I. To please your Ladyship, I will pull off her head."

Whereat she stamped and said . . . insomuch she would let me have no supper. So truly I went to bed without my supper. There is not one man in the house but she fall out withal. She put away Winter a fortnight, and took away his cloak, and then sent for him again. She have fallen out with both the Knights, and they do not mean to continue with her. There is not one in the house but she fall out withal; and is not in charity one day in a week; but with priests, which will undo her. There is one, Page, which had six pounds on her. . . . She have fallen out with Crossby and bid him get out of her sight—now for your Doctor at Redbourn, she saith he is a Papist or some sorcerer or conjurer or some vile name or other. She is as far out with Mr. Lawson as ever she was, and call him villain and whoremaster and other vile words.

I will continue so long as I am able, but against my will. I have not given more cause than I have now told your worship. . . .

Your servant to command for ever,

EDWARD SPENCER.

16 August, 1594.

CHAPTER IV

FROM the wide range of his studies during fifteen years, Francis Bacon had formed a written collection of sentences, proverbs, quotations, sayings, and anecdotes. He also preserved in writing many *bons mots* which occurred to him; pithy sentiments which would form wise or witty remarks. He wrote down, too, ideas on various subjects, such as religious controversies, or the faults of the universities. He recorded neat and convenient openings and conclusions for speeches in the courts, excellent compliments, excuses, and repartees.

Some of these writings he had put into sets, each set relating to some particular subject, and these were circulated in manuscript. In 1597, however, hearing that someone was going to publish them without his permission, Bacon hurried to a bookseller with a

manuscript, and there shortly appeared a tiny[1] book, which he called *Essays, Religious Meditations, Places of Perswasion and Disswasion, seene and allowed.* This small book was dedicated to Anthony, who was gradually becoming more and more ill:

To M. Anthony Bacon, his deare Brother.

LOVING AND BELOVED BROTHER, I do now like some that have an orchard in an ill neighborred, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing. These fragments of my conceits were going to print; to labour the stay of them had been troublesome, and subject to interpretation; to let them pass had been to adventure the wrong they might receive by untrue copies, or by some garnishment, which it might please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them. Therefore I helde it best discretion to publish them myself as they passed long ago from my pen, without any further disgrace, than the weakness of the author. And as I did ever hold there might be as great a vanity in retiring and withdrawing men's conceits . . . from the world, as in obtruding them, so in these particulars I have played myself the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my understanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of religion or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked now to

[1] "The first edition of his *Essayes* is a little book no bigger than a primer, which I have seen in the Bodleyan Library."—AUBREY, *Brief Lives.*

put them out because they will be like the late new halfepence, which though the silver were good, yet the pieces were small. But since they would not stay with their master, but would needs travel abroad, I have preferred them to you that are next myself, dedicating them, such as they are, to our love, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated upon myself, that her Majesty might have the service of so active and able a mind, and I might be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies for which I am fittest.

So commend I you to the preservation of the divine Majesty. From my Chamber at Gray's Inn this 30. of January, 1597. Your entire loving brother,

FRAN. BACON.

Thus was the first installment of Bacon's *Essays* presented to the world. There were in this small volume only ten very short essays; the collection was altered and enlarged several times during Bacon's life, and it was not until his sixty-fifth year that the large collection which we now possess was published.

A modern essay is frequently criticized if it is not at once safely comprehensive and yet concise; well arranged, smooth, and polished. Bacon did not consider those the qualifications for an essay; his were *essays* in the sense of *trials*—a few remarks thrown

out to hint at various aspects of a subject. Form was not a requirement for the earliest of essays.

In the Parliament of 1597 Bacon voted for a subsidy larger than the one he opposed in 1592. Even this, however, did him little good. He was elected merely to the Learned Counsel, a group of lawyers who were given subordinate and occasional work, without salary, and as an honor; there was little financial return. Elizabeth accepted his services and his consistent subserviency and considered herself gracious to admit him to her presence. He frequently presented her with gifts, and one New Year he gave her "a pettycoat of white satin, embroidered all over with feathers and billets, with three broad borders, fair embroidered with snakes and fruitage, emblems of wisdom and bounty."

In 1596 the Earl of Essex had achieved brilliant personal distinction in the successful expedition against Cadiz. His participation in this campaign, however, had not been pleasing to the Queen. She disliked to see her personal favorite turning into a distinguished person; she begrudged him all independence.

Essex did not realize that Elizabeth's displeasure was

as great as it was; Bacon, now his most intimate friend, wrote him a letter of warning and advice in which he declared that Essex's position as court favorite might seem to be strong when it was really insecure.

The Queen, now an old woman, became more and more imperious and aggravating. Essex was young and headstrong, and soon, despite Bacon's advice, he fell.

In 1599, after much pleading with Elizabeth, who opposed the step and permitted it much against her better judgment, Essex was appointed lieutenant and governor general of Ireland. His subsequent campaign in Ulster against the rebel Earl of Tyrone proved an utter failure; in vain efforts to recoup his losses he acted in various ways contrary to the commands of the Queen and council, and finally he flatly disobeyed orders by agreeing with Tyrone on a truce. After such behavior he suddenly, without permission, left his post of duty and hastened to London, with the object of vindicating himself in a private interview with the Queen. He discovered, however, that Elizabeth seemed to consider him no longer a personal friend, but merely a disobedient subject.

His reception in England was decidedly hostile; only Francis Bacon sent him an affectionate welcome. By his actions Essex had laid himself open to serious charges, and preparations were immediately made for his trial.

The charges against Essex were unusual; the court was therefore specially constituted. And, to the dismay of all readers of history, Francis Bacon was appointed Queen's lawyer and required to set forth in public the Earl's offenses. It is difficult to imagine a reason for this appalling appointment. Everyone knew that Bacon and Essex were the most intimate of friends; the Queen knew it as well as anyone else. Some have supposed that she appointed Bacon as a test of his loyalty.

And though it is strange that he should have been chosen, it may seem even stranger that he should consent. On one hand was his duty to the government and the certainty of no career at court should he refuse to prosecute this man (who had undoubtedly acted in a foolish and condemnable manner); on the other, the affection which he bore Essex and the favors he had received from him. But not even the dearest of friends, he would seem to have de-

cided, was worth the certain loss of a career; and so, after several attempts at reconciliation between the Queen and the Earl had failed, Francis Bacon consented to act as prosecutor.

The trial took place in June, 1600. Bacon read the list of his friend's offenses, and Essex was deprived of his high offices and ordered to live a prisoner in his own house during the Queen's pleasure.

Bacon wrote a letter to Essex:

My Lord:

No man can better expound my doings than your Lordship, which maketh me need to say the less. Only I humbly pray you to believe that I aspire to the conscience and commendation first of *bonus civis,* which with us is a good and true servant to the Queen, and next of *bonus vir,* that is an honest man. I desire your Lordship also to think that though I confess I love some things much better than I love your Lordship—as, the Queen's service, her quiet and contentment, her honour, her favour, the good of my country, and the like—yet I love few *persons* better than yourself, both for gratitude's sake and for your own virtues, which cannot hurt but by accident or abuse. Of which my good affection I was ever ready and am ready to yield testimony by any good offices, but with such reservations as yourself cannot but allow. . . . This is the axletree whereupon I have

turned and shall turn, which to signify to you, though I think you are of yourself persuaded as much, is the cause of my writing; and so I commend your Lordship to God's goodness. From Gray's Inn, this 20th day of July, 1600.

Your Lordship's most humbly,

FR. BACON.

Essex replied:

MR. BACON:

I can neither expound nor censure your late actions: being ignorant of all of them, save one; and having directed my sight inward only, to examine myself. You do pray me to believe that you only aspire to the conscience and commendation of *bonus civis* and *bonus vir;* and I do faithfully assure you that while that is your ambition (though your course be active and mine contemplative), yet we shall both *convenire in eodem tertio* and *convenire inter nosipos.* Your profession of affection and offer of good offices are welcome to me. For answer to them I will say but this, that you have believed I have been kind to you, and you may believe that I cannot be other, either upon humour or my own election. . . . This I must say, that I never flew with other wings than desire to merit and confidence in my Sovereign's favour; and when one of these wings failed me I would light nowhere but at my Sovereign's feet, though she suffered me to be bruised with my fall. And till her Majesty, that knows I was never bird of prey, finds it to agree with her will and her service that my wings should

be imped again, I have committed myself to the mire. No power but my God's and my Sovereign's can alter this resolution of

Your retired friend,
Essex.

Through Bacon's efforts the Earl's liberty was restored; he was still, however, forbidden the court. For some time Essex hoped for an improvement in his prospects and a revival of the Queen's friendship. But after almost a year the Queen took away from him certain privileges which he had long enjoyed; this, he realized, indicated that her hostility was not to be easily removed. This put him in a desperate mood, and on February 8, 1601, he made a wild attempt to initiate a revolution in his behalf. With three hundred followers he paraded the streets of London, shouting, "For the Queen! A plot is laid for my life!" The citizens of London exhibited only unenthusiastic wonderment; the Earl realized that his ruin was complete. He retired to Essex House, where he soon surrendered to royal troops.

The inevitable result was a trial for high treason, and Coke, as attorney general, prosecuted. In the natural course of events Coke would have been as-

sisted by the solicitor general or some other regular officer; once again, however, Francis Bacon was appointed. It would seem that Essex's mad rebellion had finally weighed down the balance in Bacon's mind. He seems to have shown no hesitancy in agreeing to assist Coke, and his behavior at the trial was such as to indicate that he no longer considered Essex a friend.

This is evident from the facts which follow. Coke, whose behavior at this trial despite his enormous knowledge of law was uncertain and confused, is said to have blundered in connection with certain evidence. At this point Bacon stepped forward voluntarily, straightened the prosecution, and drove home the evidence against his former friend.

At this Essex uttered some bitter words against Bacon's treacherousness. A few moments later Coke again confused matters, and once again Bacon stepped forward and made the prosecution clear in a lengthy speech.

The intimate knowledge which Bacon had of the Earl's behavior undoubtedly lent weight to his speeches for the prosecution. Essex was condemned to death and beheaded in the courtyard of the Tower

on February 25, 1601. His behavior at the block was tender and gentle; some considered it overdone, and declared it suited to a monk rather than to a soldier. The execution of a brilliant personage who had so recently been in the highest of positions and who had always been popular with the populace shocked the people of England. They evidenced discontent and anger at the old Queen. It was decided that a justification should be published, and Bacon was chosen to write a defense of the Earl's execution. He did; he used his intimate personal knowledge of the Earl's daily life to exhibit him as a villain and a traitor and to justify the actions of the Queen.

For his services in this miserable affair Bacon was awarded twelve hundred pounds out of the fines exacted from Essex's minor followers. This sum, he complained, was not enough.

This was not the close of the Earl of Essex matter. Bacon's behavior had not been such as to make him popular with many persons, and several years later (after Elizabeth had died and he was able to declare that the blame was hers) he wrote an apology for his behavior.

CHAPTER V

It is known that the last years of Queen Elizabeth's life were not happy. She was gloomy, fretful, and sad. It is probable that the Essex tragedy took away much of her spirit. She lived but two years after the Earl's execution.

Through his brother Anthony, who had died in 1601, Francis Bacon had become entirely familiar with the situation surrounding King James the Sixth of Scotland. Immediately on the death of Elizabeth he wrote letters to those in Scotland with whom Anthony had been in correspondence, recommending himself to the favors of the King.

Two of these letters he sent personally, in the hands of his friend Tobie Matthew.[1] One was to Sir Thomas

[1]Tobie Matthew, whose name will frequently occur in these pages (for he was later Bacon's principal continental correspondent), was born in Salisbury, October 3, 1577. He was the

Challoner, a close friend of Anthony's, in which he recommended Tobie; the other was to the King himself.

In it he said that he would not have dared thrust himself upon James's attention so soon had it not been for a

Habit of like liberty, which I enjoyed with my late dear Sovereign Mistress; a Prince happy in all things, but most happy in such a successor.

Also, he said:

I was not a little encouraged, not only upon a supposal that unto your Majesty's sacred ears (open to the air of all

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eldest son of Sir Tobie Matthew, then Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, later to be raised to be Bishop of Durham, and finally Archbishop of York. His mother was connected by birth and marriage with many dignitaries of the English Church, her first husband being a son of an Archbishop of Canterbury.

After securing his B.A. and M.A. from Oxford, he plunged into court life in London, and took the part of the Esquire in Essex's *Device* presented before the Queen in 1595. His extravagance and dissipation soon estranged his severe and puritanical parents. In 1599, at the age of twenty-two, he was admitted at Gray's Inn, where his acquaintance with Francis Bacon became fairly intimate. In the fall of 1601 he became reconciled with his family by being elected M.P. for Newport, Cornwall, and in March, 1604 (only a few weeks before he carried Bacon's letters to Scotland), he was returned M.P. for St. Alban's, in place of Bacon, who resigned and sat for Ipswich.

virtues) there might perhaps have come some small breath of the good memory of my father, so long a principal counselor in this your kingdom; but also by the particular knowledge of the infinite devotion and incessant endeavours (beyond the strength of his body, and the nature of the times) which appeared in my good brother towards your Majesty's service; and were on your Majesty's part, through your singular benignity, by many most gracious and lively significations and favours accepted and acknowledged, beyond the merit of anything he could effect. All which endeavours and duties for the most part were common to myself with him, though by design (as between brethren) dissembled. And therefore, most high and mighty King, my most dear and dread sovereign lord, since now the corner-stone is laid of the mightiest monarchy in Europe; and that God above, who is noted to have a mighty hand in bridling the floods and fluctuations of the seas and of people's hearts, hath by the miraculous and universal consent (the more strange because it proceedeth from such diversity of causes) in your coming in, given a sign and token what he intendeth in the continuance; I think there is no subject of your Majesty's, who loveth this island, and is not hollow and unworthy, whose heart is not set on fire, not only to bring you peace-offerings to make you propitious, but to sacrifice himself a burnt-offering to your Majesty's service: amongst which number no man's fire shall be more pure and fervent than mine. But how far forth it shall blaze out, that resteth in your Majesty's

employment. . . . I must leave all to the trial of further time, and so thirsting after the happiness of kissing your royal hand, continue ever, etc.

And the letter contained three quotations from the Latin.

Bacon realized that those persons who had been imprisoned for aiding the Earl of Essex would, upon the accession of James, be released, and that many of them would succeed to much power. They were people to have as friends. Among them was the Earl of Southampton, whom Bacon himself had been instrumental in confining to the Tower. This earl was now daily visited by his "friends," all congratulating him upon his speedy release. Bacon did not call, but he wrote a letter in which he declared, "I do not now begin, but continue, to be your Lordship's humble and most devoted." It is barely possible that this statement seemed more amazing to Southampton than it does to us.

Bacon also wrote many notes to his cousin Robert Cecil, who had succeeded his father, Lord Burleigh. About this time Bacon was once again arrested on the streets of London for debt, and Cecil aided him.

In thanking him, Bacon implored that he use his influence to secure him a knighthood.

I could be content to have it [he wrote], both because of this late disgrace and because I have three new knights in my mess in Gray's Inn commons, and because I have found out an alderman's daughter, an handsome maiden, to my liking.

And when he sent this to his cousin he sent with it a letter to Cecil's servant, telling him to let Cecil know he was "the personage in the state which I love most."

He wrote to Tobie Matthew:

SIR:

I was heartily glad to hear that you had passed so great a part of your journey in so good health. My aim was right in my address of letters to those persons in the court of Scotland who are likeliest to be used for the affairs of England; but the pace they held was too swift; for the men were come away before my letters could reach them.

Things are here in good quiet. The King acts excellently well; for he puts in clauses of reservation to every promise. He saith, he would be sorry to have just cause to remove any. He saith, he will displace none who hath served the Queen and state sincerely, etc. The truth is,

here be two extremes. Some few would have no changes, no not reformation. Some many would have much change, even with perturbation. God, I hope, will direct this wise king to hold a mean between reputation enough and no terrors. In my particular I have many comforts and assurances; but in mine own opinion the chief is, that the canvassing world is gone, and the deserving world is come. And withal I find myself as one awaked out of sleep; which I have not been this long time, nor could, I think, have been now, without such a great noise as this; which yet is in *aura leni*. I have written this to you in haste; my end being no more than to write, and thereby to make you know that I will ever continue the same, and still be sure to wish you as heartily well as to myself.

Soon afterward Bacon secured with the King an interview so favorable as to assure him of a knighthood. And indeed a few days before his coronation James bestowed titles and honors in so wild a profusion that there hardly remained any other mark of distinction but that of having escaped them. Bacon was made Sir Francis Bacon, but three hundred others received similar promotions.

Almost immediately upon James's coronation Bacon jumped into comparative prominence, and from his forty-second till his sixtieth year his career was a continuous rise. It was slow at the beginning, for

Cecil was an important man at court, and Cecil's esteem for Coke did not allow him to be too kind to Bacon. But he was kinder than his father had been.

King James, however, felt an immediate regard for Bacon. Three things James especially loved—flattery, wit, and learning; these qualities Bacon combined in a most satisfactory manner. In James's very first Parliament Bacon stepped to the front and attracted the King's notice. The King and the Commons were in a dispute concerning the extent of the King's powers.[1] Bacon was appointed to report personally to the King the opinions of Parliament and to report back to the house the answers of the King. Under a cloud of extravagantly flattering words he elicited from the King the spontaneous proposal of a generous compromise and succeeded in putting James into such excellent humor that he did not realize the extent of his agreements.

But what won him the King's special regard was his praise of James's great wisdom. "The King's voice,"

[1] James once remarked to the Spanish ambassador, "I wonder that my ancestors should ever have permitted such an institution as the House of Commons to have come into existence. I am a stranger, and found it here when I arrived, so that I am obliged to put up with what I cannot get rid of."

said Bacon as he announced to Parliament his successful negotiations with the monarch, "was the voice of God in man, the good spirit of God in the mouth of man; I do not say the voice of God and not of man; I am not one of Herod's flatterers; a curse fell upon him that said it, a curse on him that suffered it. We might say, as was said to Solomon, We are glad, O King, that we give account to you, because you discern what is spoken."

Thus one brilliant stroke secured for Francis Bacon the regard of the Parliament and the friendship of the King.

Realizing that his behavior at the trial of Essex was working against him in certain quarters, he considered this the time to vindicate himself. His "Apology concerning the Earl of Essex" is a long, elaborate, and pleading statement of innocence and integrity.

His work upon two of England's greatest questions brought Bacon into more prominence. The problems of the pacification of the Church (an endeavor to calm the strife between the bishops and the Puritans) and of the union of Scotland and England presented many difficulties, both diplomatic and technical, which occupied his attentions.

During these years Bacon was not neglecting his great philosophical plan. He was now forty-five, almost fifteen years older than when he had first outlined the scheme. Since then he had been much occupied and very poor; he had had neither time nor resources. What he had accomplished seemed to him but little; in 1605 he published what he had outlined as "Part One of the *Grand Instauration*," and entitled it *The Advancement of Learning*. This work, a report on the existing stock and deficiences of human knowledge, Bacon dedicated to the King. (It is beyond doubt that the pedantic James approved of the author as well as the dedication.)

Bacon had intended that the book should appear in Latin and English at the same time; the Latin translation, which had been made for him by some scholars at Cambridge, turned out to be ornate and clumsy, however, and in his desire to see some of his plan in print it was produced in English only. Soon it appeared in Latin as well, with all the passages removed that might give offense to the censors at Rome or Paris.

A copy of the Latin translation Bacon sent to the young Prince Charles, with a letter saying, "It is a

book that will live and be a citizen of the world, as English books are not." For Bacon had little faith in the enduring qualities of the English language. He insisted that all his works be translated immediately into Latin, to preserve them from early oblivion. English was, in the eyes of scholars, a young and upstart tongue; it was the latest of the European languages to be used to any extent, and its permanence was problematic.

Sir Thomas Bodley had just caused to be constructed the first part of the famous library at Oxford, and Bacon sent him a copy of *The Advancement of Learning*, saying, "Books are the shrines where the saint is, or is believed to be: and you having built an ark to save learning from deluge, deserve propriety in any new instrument or engine, whereby learning should be improved or advanced."

In 1604, despite his advancing fortunes in England itself, Tobie Matthew had conceived a great desire to travel abroad. He wished especially to visit Italy. His parents, however, dreading the possibility of their son's being infected by Romish doctrines, declared that Italy and Spain were the two countries

which he might not visit. He agreed to this, and set off for France, intending to live there during the interval between Parliaments. Within a few weeks he returned secretly to England, for some unknown reason; but early in 1605 he sailed again for France, and, despite his promise to his parents, continued his journey by way of Lyons, Avignon, Nice, and Genoa to Florence. There he settled down and corresponded with his friends in England, and it was to that city that Bacon sent Matthew's copy of *The Advancement of Learning* with the following letter:

SIR:

I perceive you have some time when you can be content to think of your friends; from whom since you have borrowed yourself, you do well, not paying the principal, to send the interest at six months day. The relation which here I send you inclosed, carries the truth of that which is public; and though my little leisure might have required a briefer, yet the matter would have endured and asked a larger.

I have now at last taught that child to go, at the swadling whereof you were. My work touching the *Proficiency* and *Advancement* of *Learning*, I have put into two books; whereof the former, which you saw I count but as a page to the latter. I have now published them both;

whereof I thought it a small adventure to send you a copy, who have more right to it than any man, except Bishop Andrews, who was my inquisitor.

The death of the late great Judge concerned not me, because the other was not removed. I write this in answer to your good wishes; which I return not as flowers of Florence, but as you mean them; whom I conceive place cannot alter, no more than time shall me, except it be to the better.

Early in the next year London began to buzz with rumors concerning legal promotions, vacancies, and changes. Bacon wrote at once to his cousin Cecil (who had been created Earl of Salisbury and made secretary of state) asking him for the place of solicitor general, that place which he had missed ten years before. But nothing occurred.

It would seem that the "alderman's daughter, an handsome maiden," whom Bacon mentioned in a previous letter to Cecil, did not prove adamant; in May, 1606, he married Alice Barnham, who was said to have some money and a disagreeable mother who had become a lady through her second marriage. Francis Bacon, who at the age of twenty-one had enjoyed the splendor of his coach, was not one to miss the spectacular opportunities in the marriage

ceremony. "Sir Francis Bacon," wrote a London rake to a friend, "was married yesterday to his young wench, in Maribone Chapel. He was clad from top to toe in purple, and hath made himself and his wife such store of raiments of cloth of silver and gold that it draws deep into her portion."

It was fortunate that Bacon found a girl with some money; his living was always extravagant. He spent large sums on fine foods and clothes. His tastes were not riotous; they were quietly and elegantly expensive.

Nothing is known of Bacon's married life. He mentions his wife in only one letter, and there with tenderness. But shortly before his death she must have offended him, for he canceled most of his bequests to her "for reasons best known to myself."

Bacon can hardly have been an ardent wooer. His essay "On Love" is scarcely enthusiastic.

> You may observe [he writes], that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love; which shows that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. It was well said, "That it is impossible to love

and be wise." Whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom. They do best who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life.

Nor is his view of marriage more glorious:

> He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men.

It would seem that Bacon might not permit his wife and marital affairs to take up too much of his time. Plutarch has said of one of his men that "he cared more for his old woman than for immortality"; Bacon deserves the converse.

In the summer immediately following Bacon's marriage Coke was made chief justice of the Common Pleas Court, and various other changes were made. Bacon hoped once again that he might obtain the solicitorship. He wrote a long letter to the King, recording his public services. And he wrote to the chancellor, urging that he needed the place now since his marriage:

I humbly pray your Lordship to consider that time groweth precious with me, and that a married man is seven years elder in his thoughts the first day. . . . And were it not to satisfy my wife's friends, and to get myself out of being a common gaze or speech, I protest before God I would never speak a word for it. But to conclude, as my honourable Lady your wife was some mean to make me to change the name of another, so if it please you to help me to change my own name, I can be but more and more bounden to you; and I am much deceived if your Lordship find not the King well inclined, and my Lord of Salisbury forward and affectionate.

It is interesting to notice that the chancellor's lady aided Bacon in winning his wife; it is also interesting (though a matter for opinion) that his reasons for desiring the solicitor's place were the naggings of his wife's friends and the fact that he was pointed at by others as a man who had often been passed by. This time, too, the appointments were slow in being made. Bacon was busy in Parliament all winter, and it was not until the 25th of June, 1607, that he was appointed solicitor general.

Tobie Matthew, in Florence, was much intrigued by the rituals of the Roman Catholic Church. He made many Catholic friends in Florence, and he attended

many Catholic ceremonies, but he wrote continually to his father that his faith was in no danger. Many things occurred, however, which kept taking him nearer and nearer to the Church. On his way to Naples he was almost miraculously preserved from a sudden death; this, his Catholic friends declared, was a sign. He so loved an Ave Maria sung by the Neapolitan children in religious processions that he sang it to himself when he was alone. He visited Rome and came under the almost irresistible influence of that very Jesuit, Robert Parsons, who had so castigated Francis Bacon's mother, and whose pamphlet against Elizabeth Francis himself had answered in 1592. While in Rome Matthew found favor in the eyes of Cardinal Pinelli, high in the Inquisition. The Cardinal lent the English tourist his coach and was careful that Matthew saw not only the antiquities of the decayed Roman Empire but also the antiquities of the Roman Catholic Church. The reminders of the primitive Christians struck him with reverent awe. Tobie Matthew returned from Rome to Florence, reflected much on his faith, read the writings of St. Augustine, and made up his mind to join the Church.

There were but two obstacles—his father and the anti-Catholic laws in England. The first was not serious, but the second required consideration. In the time of Elizabeth there had been laws prohibiting the conversion of any person to Catholicism, prohibiting priests to say mass, and penalizing for every month's absence from the services of the Established Church. Under James, however, these laws had been strengthened by severe measures inflicting all sorts of penalties upon Catholics. All marriages, baptisms, and burials now had to be conducted under Protestant ceremonials. Especially there was evolved a new oath of allegiance, by which all Roman Catholics were made to declare the power of the Pope "impious, heretical, and damnable," under the penalty of perpetual imprisonment and loss of personal property and rents.

So attractive, however, had the Roman Church become to Tobie Matthew that even in the face of these difficulties he determined to embrace the faith. He sought out, in Florence, a Jesuit, Father Lelio Ptolomei, whose sermons had stirred him. Ptolomei carried him to the inquisitor, who absolved him from his

heresies,[1] and after a month of penance and study he was allowed to receive the sacrament.

Soon after his conversion his Licence to Travel expired. He was forced to return to England. He was unwilling to conceal the fact that he had become a Roman Catholic, and realizing that this attitude might have serious consequences he sought out Francis Bacon, now a prominent man, immediately upon his arrival in England, and consulted with him upon what course to pursue.

It is not known what advice Bacon gave; it is known, however, that Tobie Matthew was at once "committed to prison" while his case was considered and that he was at full liberty to visit his friends provided his keeper went along. He visited Francis Bacon often, and aided him with his writings. One morning Bacon wrote to Matthew at his place of detention:

SIR:

Because you shall not lose your labour this afternoon, which now I must needs spend with my Lord Chancellor,

[1] At the instant of his absolution, the day, which had been fair, changed itself into a tempest of rain and thunder; whereupon the inquisitor, smiling, declared that the devil was angry to see a soul return to God.

I send my desire to you in this letter, that you will take care not to leave the writing, which I left with you last, with any man, so long as that he may be able to take a copy of it; because first it must be censured by you, and then considered again by me. The thing which I expect most from you is, that you would read it carefully over by yourself; and to make some little note in writing, where you think (to speak like a critic) that I do perhaps *indormiscere;* or where I do *indulgere genio,* or where, in fine, I give any manner of disadvantage to myself. This, *super totam materiam,* you must not fail to note; besides, all such words and phrases as you cannot like; for you know in how high account I have your judgment.

After a few weeks of this mild confinement Matthews was hailed to court and called upon to take the new oath of allegiance. He refused, and was at once thrown into the Fleet Prison. There many of his friends visited him and besought him to consider his errors. Bacon wrote to him in prison:

Mr. Matthews:
Do not think me forgetful or altered towards you. But if I should say I could do you any good, I should make my power more than it is. I do hear that which I am right sorry for; that you grow more impatient and busy than at first; which maketh me exceedingly fear the issue of that which seemeth not to stand at a stay. I myself am

out of doubt, that you have been miserably abused, when you were first seduced; but that which I take in compassion, others may take in severity. I pray God, that understandeth us all better than we understand one another, contain you (even as I hope he will) at the least within the bounds of loyalty to his Majesty, and natural piety towards your country. And I entreat you much, sometimes to meditate upon the extreme effects of superstition in this last Powder Treason; fit to be tabled and pictured in the chambers of meditation, as another hell above the ground; and well justifying the censure of the heathen, that superstition is far worse than atheism; by how much it is less evil to have no opinion of God at all, than such as is impious towards his divine majesty and goodness. Good Mr. Matthew, receive yourself back from these courses of perdition. Willing to have written a great deal more, I continue, etc.

But one Sunday afternoon Tobie Matthew was called before the Privy Council and questioned. Lord Salisbury, whom Matthew had been besieging with petitions, declared that he himself was not responsible for Matthew's imprisonment and did not favor it. The council agreed to give him six weeks in which to set his affairs in order and depart the realm; in the meantime he was to live in practical imprisonment in the home of any friend—a loyal subject—whom he might choose to name.

It has been supposed that it was due to Francis Bacon's efforts that Tobie was allowed to go abroad rather than remain at home in prison.

A little more than a year after Bacon was made solicitor general, William Mylle, Clerk of the Star Chamber, died. Bacon, who had held the reversion of this office since 1589, was sworn in on the very day of Mylle's death, July 16, 1608. This place, worth about two thousand pounds a year, was a considerable accession to his fortunes; indeed, with his marriage, his solicitorship, and this new office, his income had been trebled.

Immediately after he was sworn in Bacon left London to spend the summer in the large quiet house at Gorhambury. There, when he should have been rejoicing in his good fortune at last, he suffered an attack of melancholia. "I have found now twice," he wrote in his journal, "upon amendment of my fortune, disposition to melancholy and distaste, especially the same happening against the long vacation, when company failed and business both—strife at meats, strangeness, clouds,"[1] etc.

[1] One supposes this to mean indigestion and dizziness.

He determined to draw up, on the long summer days, an account of himself, his possessions, and his prospects. Let us examine him.

He was now forty-eight years old but looked older. He had a "delicate, lively hazel eye," which his enemies said was like that of a viper. His hair was chestnut and long; he had a chestnut mustache and beard. His forehead was spacious and open, his face solemn, benevolent, intelligent, and rather lined. He was of medium height, and always dressed in the most fashionable and meticulous garments.

Although he had been frequently snubbed, disappointed, and kept down, his fortunes were now on the mend. He had married a wife with some property, and although his debts were still considerable, they would be paid off in time with his now certain income. Among his possessions were the large house at Gorhambury, his wife's land, his own and his wife's jewels, much valuable plate, many fine horses, and several coaches. His total fortune was about twenty-five thousand pounds—equivalent to what is now many times that sum. He determined to increase that amount. He must relet, at best profit, the expired leases of his wife's living. He must examine

the magnificent timber at Gorhambury and on his wife's lands.

And now that he was becoming prominent and wealthy Gorhambury must be improved. It was now a rambling, charmingly haphazard house and estate; it must be made more imposing and elegant. The walks around the garden walls, for instance, should be sanded, and not allowed to grass over as they had always done. The old fishing pool must be turned into a formal lake, with a balustrade about it, and filled with islands. On one of the islands must be a summerhouse, with a gallery for musicians, and on all of them must be sweetly scented flowers. Walks must be cut through the woods at points to gain the most advantageous vistas, and statues placed at the principal points.

As Bacon wrote down these schemes the old estate seemed to grow gorgeous before his eyes, and he felt himself prince of the most glorious house in England. During the next ten years these plans were largely realized.

He was dissatisfied with his old and shabby lodgings at Gray's Inn; they must be improved. The new

structure which he caused to be built is still known as the Lord Bacon Lodgings.

There were certain points which he should keep in mind in order to improve himself in his public duties. Coke, for example, was long-winded and tedious in his speech; Bacon should take advantage of this weakness of Coke's and strive to be especially short, round, and resolute. He must overcome his rather labored and panting manner of speaking by long breathing and speaking exercises.

When he approached a subject, in a speech, he must not fall upon it with too much suddenness, but approach it gradually. He should continue his old practice of jotting down, here and there, happy phrases which occurred to him, which he could incorporate in his speeches or even in his conversation. One, for example, had occurred to him recently: "Death comes to young men; old men go to death. That is all the difference." The King would appreciate it, or it might even serve as a foundation for an essay "On Death."

Now that he had arrived at prominence he should abandon his old obsequiousness and formality in favor of some show of carelessness, pride, and rude-

ness. But he must recommend himself ceaselessly to the King, "to set on foot and maintain access with his Majesty, to attend some time his repasts, or to fall into a course of familiar discourse." And he must discover some unobvious way of showing the King that he was "affectionate and assured to the Scotch." With his cousin Cecil he must maintain a correspondence "of natural but no ways perilous boldness" —no longer must he appear a petitioner. Hobart, the new attorney general, he writes, "is a solemn goose, stately and crafty, and they have made him believe that he is wondrous wise."

And, most important of all, he must evolve some scheme for collecting data to use in the *Grand Instauration.* Could anything be done by the young scholars in the universities? Pensions might be assigned to a certain number of persons who could then devote themselves to the work of ceaselessly experimenting; in this manner he would have a long list of results to use in his writing. Might not even a college be erected for the special study of the art of invention? A college furnished with all the requisite appliances: books, engines, vaults, furnaces, terraces, workshops, allowances for traveling and

experiments, arrangements for intelligence of and correspondence with the continental universities, orders and regulations ("mixed with some points popular, to invite many to contribute and join"), honors and rewards to excite ambition, such as galleries "with statues of inventors past, and spaces or bases for investors to come"—that would be an institution!

As Bacon sat at Gorhambury and wrote down these great plans it is possible that his melancholy gradually disappeared. Anything seemed possible. But—he must guard his health. He was hypochondriacal.

In the summer, for example, he must eat frequent meals composed of boiled meat, cool salads, and no wine; this must not become his regular diet, however, because it is rather thin and weakens the stomach. Three spoonfuls of syrup of vinegar or syrup of lemons taken immediately before supper quickened his appetite, he discovered; and it did him good to drink almond milk for breakfast, instead of wine. On the occasion of an attack of indigestion he must anoint his sides with oil of almonds, and drink three spoonfuls of that liquid mixed with barley cream. This remedy, however, refused to agree with him,

and so he felt he must resort again to the pleasant old remedy of some small claret wine refrigerated with herbs, for "that increaseth the spirits and opposeth not so much nor burneth not no much in the bottom of the stomach where the distemper is." Wine was good also against adverse melancholy, "preserving the senses and the reason."

Bacon was continually worrying about his health and experimenting with new remedies. As the years passed his lists of elaborate medical preparations reached astounding lengths.

The *Grand Instauration* did progress.

Tobie Matthew, after his exile from England, resided for a time in Paris and in Florence and then made an extended voyage in Spain. He kept up a constant correspondence with Francis Bacon and other friends in England. He advised Bacon continually in literary affairs. Bacon sent him his works as they appeared, and the best of his letters:

MR. MATTHEW:

I heartily thank you for your letter of the 10th of February, and am glad to receive from you matter both of encouragement and advertisement touching my writings. For my part I do wish that since there is almost no *lumen*

siccum in the world, but all *madidum* and *maceratum*, infused in affections and bloods or humours, that these things of mine had those separations that might make them more acceptable; so that they claim not so much acquaintance of the present times, as they be thereby the less like to last. And to shew you that I have some purpose to new-mould them, I send you a leaf or two of the Preface, carrying some figure of the whole work: wherein I purpose to take that which I count real and effectual of both writings; and chiefly to add pledge if not payment to my promise. I send you also a memorial of Queen Elizabeth. . . . Of this, when you were here, I shewed you some model; though at that time methought you were more willing to hear Julius Cæsar than Queen Elizabeth commended. But this which I send is more full, and hath more of the narrative: and further, hath one part that I think will not be disagreeable either to you or that place; being the true tracks of her proceedings towards the Catholics, which are infinitely mistaken. And though I do not imagine they will pass allowance there, yet they will gain your excuse. I find Mr. LeZure to use you well (I mean his tongue of you) which shews you either honest or wise. But this I speak merrily. For in good faith I do conceive hope that you will so govern yourself, as we may take you as assuredly for a good subject and patriot, as you take yourself for a good Christian; and so we may again enjoy your company, and you your conscience, if it may no otherwise be. For my part, assure yourself that (as we say in the law) *mutatis mutandis*, my love and

good wishes to you are not diminished. And so I remain, etc.

Matthew wished to return to England; he wrote to Bacon, urging him to use his influence on his behalf. Bacon replied:

SIR:

Two letters of mine are now already walking towards you; but so that we might meet, it were no matter though our letters should lose their way. I make a shift in the mean time to be glad of your approaches, and would be more glad to be an agent for your presence, who have been a patient by your absence. If your body by indisposition make you acknowledge the healthful air of your native country, much more do I assure myself that you continue to have your mind in no way estranged. And as my trust with the state is above suspicion, so my knowledge both of your loyalty and honest nature will ever make me show myself your faithful friend without scruple. You have reason to commend that gentleman to me, by whom you sent your last, although his having travelled so long amongst the sadder nations of the world make him much the less easy upon small acquaintance to be understood. I have sent you some copies of my book of the *Advancement*, which you desired; and a little work of my recreation, which you desired not. My *Instauration* I reserve for our conference; it sleeps not. . . . Thus, in extreme haste, I have scribbled to you I know not

what, which therefore is the less affected, and for that very reason will not be esteemed the less by you.

SIR:

I thank you for your last, and pray you to believe that your liberty in giving opinion of those writings which I sent you, is that which I sought, which I expected, and which I take in exceeding good part; so good as that it makes me recontinue, or rather continue, my hearty wishes of your company here, that so you might use the same liberty concerning my actions which now you exercise concerning my writings. For that of Queen Elizabeth, your judgment of the temper and truth of that part which concerns some of her foreign proceedings concurs fully with the judgment of others, to whom I have communicated part of it; and as things go, I suppose they are likely to be more and more justified and allowed. And whereas you say, for some other part, that it moves and opens a fair occasion and broad way into some field of contradiction; on the other side it is written to me from the leiger at Paris, and some others also, that it carries a manifest impression of truth with it, and that it even convinces as it goes. These are their very words; which I write not for mine own glory, but to show what variety of opinion rises from the disposition of several readers. And I must confess my desire to be, that my writings should not court the present time, or some few places, in such sort as might make them either less general to persons, or less permanent in future ages. As for

the *Instauration*, your so full approbation thereof I read with much comfort, by how much more my heart is upon it; and by how much less I expected consent and concurrence in a matter so obscure. Of this I can assure you, that though many things of great hope decay with youth (and multitude of civil business is wont to diminish the price, though not the delight, of contemplations), yet the proceeding in that work doth gain with me upon my affection and desire, both by years and business. And therefore I hope, even by this, that it is well pleasing to God, from whom and to whom all good moves. To Him I most heartily commend you.

MR. MATTHEW:

I plainly perceive by your affectionate writing touching my work, that one and the same thing affecteth us both; which is the good end to which it is dedicate; for as to any ability of mine, it cannot merit that degree of approbation. For your caution for church-men and church-matters, as for any impediment it might be to the applause and celebrity of my work, it moveth me not; but as it may hinder the fruit and good which may come of a quiet and calm passage to the good port to which it is bound, I hold it a just respect; so as to fetch a fair wind I go not too far about. But the truth is, I shall have no occasion to meet them in my way, except it be as they will needs confederate themselves with Aristotle, who, you know, is intemperately magnified with the schoolmen; and is also allied (as I take it) to the Jesuits, by Faber,

who was a companion of Loyola, and a great Aristotelian. I send you at this time the only part which hath any harshness; and yet I framed to myself an opinion, that whosoever allowed well of that Preface which you so much commend, will not dislike, or at least ought not to dislike, this other speech of preparation; for it is written out of the same spirit, and out of the same necessity. Nay it doth more fully lay open that the question between me and the ancients is not of the virtue of the race, but of the rightness of the way. And to speak truth, it is to the other but as *palma* to *pugnus*, part of the same thing more large. You conceive aright that in this and the other you have commission to impart and communicate them to others according to your discretion. Other matters I write not of. Myself am like the miller of Huntingdon, that was wont to pray for peace amongst the willows; for while the winds blew, the wind-mills wrought, and the water-mill was less customed. So I see that controversies of religion must hinder the advancement of sciences. Let me conclude with my perpetual wish towards yourself, that the approbation of yourself, by your own discreet and temperate carriage, may restore you to your country, and your friends to your society. And so I commend you to God's goodness.

Gray's-Inn, this 10th of October, 1609.

This last letter was never sent; so long did it have to wait for its enclosure that Bacon rewrote it in December, in a rather less interesting form. But we

have one more document in this historic correspondence:

SIR:

I write to you chiefly now, to the end that by the continuance of my acquaintance with you by letters, you may perceive how much I desire and how much I do not despair of the recontinuance of our acquaintance by conversation. In the mean time I wish you would desire the astronomers of Italy to amuse us less than they do with their fabulous and foolish traditions; and come nearer to the experiments of sense; and tell us, that when all the planets, except the moon, are beyond the line in the other hemisphere for six months together, we must needs have a cold winter; as we saw it was the last year. For understanding that this was general over all these parts of the world; and finding that it was cold weather with all winds, and namely west-wind, I imagined there was some higher cause of this effect; though yet I confess I thought not that ever I should have found that cause so palpable an one as it proved. Which yet when I came quickly afterwards to observe, I found also very clearly that the summer must needs be cold too; though yet it were generally thought that the year would make a shift to pay itself, and that we should be sure to have heats for our cold. You see that though I be full of business, yet I can be glad rather to lay it all aside than to say nothing to you. But I long much more to be speaking often with you, and I hope I shall not long want my wish.

In addition to his letters and the *Instauration* itself, Bacon was engaged upon another project, and near the end of 1609 he published his volume *On the Wisdom of the Ancients*. For some time he had been busily extracting morals from the classic myths and legends; these morals usually pointed out the desirability of further investigation into the natural sciences. This work was not a definite part of the *Grand Instauration*, but it was designed to make others favorable to that plan, to conciliate the lovers of antiquity.

Apart from that significance, however, it possesses intrinsic interest. The old myths, always pleasing, are rendered even finer by Bacon's magnificent prose, and the acts of the gods and mortals assume their proportions of cosmic significance.

In August, 1610, at an age of more than eighty, and with her reason much gone, Bacon's mother died at Gorhambury. We have a letter which Francis wrote to an acquaintance:

> I heartily wish I had your company here at my Mother's funeral which I purpose on Thursday next in the forenoon. I dare promise you a good sermon to be made by Mr. Fenton, the preacher of Gray's Inn, for he never

maketh other. Feast I make none. But if I might have your company for two or three days at my house I should pass over this mournful occasion with more comfort. . . .

Lady Anne Bacon had lived to see her son a person of prominence; whether she realized it no one knows.

CHAPTER VI

It did not take Bacon long to become dissatisfied with his place as solicitor general. Soon after his appointment he complained that it had become a "mean thing" when compared with the attorney's office. It was laborious, for it was the attorney's custom to pass off most of the work to the solicitor, and the routine was fatiguing and restricting. It left him little time to pursue his studies and his writing.

In the autumn of 1611 the attorney fell ill; it was rumored (as usual) that his recovery was doubtful. Immediately Bacon wrote to James and to Salisbury, reminding them of his claims to the office. To his chagrin, however, Hobart recovered. In a New Year letter Bacon thanked Salisbury for his good-will. In May Salisbury died.

Upon the death of his influential cousin Bacon wrote

to the King. There are several drafts of letters in existence, and they vary only in the degrees of their bitterness against Salisbury. They attack his policies; they recommend Bacon; they declare that Salisbury did not have the King's interests at heart.

In an interview about this time James said to Bacon, "Now tell me truly what you think of your cousin that is gone."

"I do think he was not fit councillor to make your affairs better. But yet he was fit to have kept them from growing worse."

"On my soul, man," replied the King heartily, "in the first thou speakest like a true man, in the second like a kinsman."

The fact that in this sentence the King revealed a lack of regard for Salisbury might indicate that Bacon had known such to be the case, and that he had thus dared to be so bitter against his cousin in his letters.

About this time James journeyed out to Hertfordshire and personally inspected the Abbey Church of St. Albans. This was so near Bacon's country seat that the rumor arose that he was to be created Viscount St. Albans. It was supposed that the King

would order the old church repaired so that it would be worthy of the new peer.

At this same time the very lucrative place of master of the wards became vacant. It had been one of Salisbury's countless offices, and Bacon seemed to everyone the most probable successor. For some unexplained reason, however, it was given to Sir George Carey. But Carey died almost immediately, and Bacon's confidence was so unbounded that, in anticipation of his new office, he put all his retainers into new and luxurious cloaks. A few weeks later, however, London roared with laughter at his disappointment when the place was given to Sir Walter Cope. Bacon's men were derided for being "all dressed up with no place to go." Neither Carey nor Cope was noted for intelligence or integrity, and it was said that could the former holders of the office look out of their graves and see those two successors in their place "they would be out of countenance with themselves, and say to the world, '*Quantum mutatus!*' "

The court was about to celebrate the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Count Palatine of the Rhine. One of the chief features of the occasion was to be the presentation of a joint masque by the gen-

tlemen of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple. In this way a magnificent spectacle was assured, for the men from these two inns were considered by connoisseurs to excel all others in the art of dancing.

Bacon was in entire charge of this entertainment. He commissioned Francis Beaumont, a member of the Inner Temple, to write the words and indicate the plot and form of the masque; he himself supervised the purchase of the supplies, furnishings, and the construction and presentation of the spectacle itself. It may also be supposed that he contributed considerably to the funds. The production of an elaborate masque cost around twenty thousand pounds.

A few days before, a masque had been presented by two other inns of court—the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn—and called the "Masque of Plutus." The Inner Temple and Gray's Inn determined to supersede this rival production. The "Masque of Plutus" had been presented on horseback and in chariots. So, since the spectacle which Beaumont had devised concerned "the marriage of the Thames and the Rhine," it was decided to hold it partly by water.

A great company of masquers, elaborately costumed, made a progress by water from Winchester House to Whitehall, seated in the royal barge, "attended with a multitude of barges and galleys, with all variety of loud music, and several peals of ordnance, and led by two admirals." The royal family witnessed their approach, and they were received at the private stairs.

But, as had happened twenty years before, the Great Hall was discovered to be so packed with spectators that there was no room for any performance. Worse than that, the King was so wearied and sleepy from sitting up almost two whole nights that he "had no edge to it." Bacon entreated His Majesty not to "bury them quick" with his indifference, but James replied, sleepily, that they would have to bury him quick, for he could last no longer. He advised them to go home and come again on Saturday.

This was a great misfortune. Half the effectiveness of a masque was in the first view and novelty of the costumes; now they had all been seen. The masquers were much discouraged.

But on Saturday a huge new hall was opened for their special sake, and their success was triumphant.

The King was especially pleased by a "dance of statues." So much did he enjoy this number that at the end of the masque he called for it again. It was impossible to grant the royal request, however, for by that time several of the statues were unpainted and dressed.

Everyone passed, therefore, into another huge room. "There were long tables laden with comfits and thousands of mottoes. After the King had made the round of the tables everything was in a moment rapaciously swept away." But the next night the King gave a special banquet for the performers in the new marriage room, "where they were all treated and much graced, kissing his Majesty's hand, and everyone having a particular *accoglienze* from him." This masque was soon published by Beaumont, and was dedicated to the inns and to "Sir Francis Bacon, especially."[1]

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[1]At the age of sixty-five Bacon wrote an essay "On Masques and Triumphs." In this essay he pretends to apologize for writing of such trifles, but he proceeds with great gusto, and it is evident that even in his old age his taste for such affairs had not left him. He recommends "dancing to song," the colors of white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green, and strange "anti-masques" of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, etc. It is possibly

But not all of Bacon's time was spent in the superintendence of masques.

In October, 1612, a revised and enlarged edition of the *Essays* appeared.

Although his advancement seemed slow to him even yet, it was definitely on the way, and everyone recognized him as a prominent figure who would become even more so. His intimacy with the King increased. But he never attained that familiarity which the King had permitted himself with the late Salisbury or with Ben Jonson. He spoke in Parliament upon the means of increasing the revenue, and he advised the King concerning his treatment of Parliament. Already the question of the "royal prerogative," the "divine right of kings," was becoming troublesome. Bacon did not hesitate to say that, in his opinion, Salisbury had fomented Parliament against James.

Bacon also insisted to the King that Coke (now chief justice of the Common Pleas) was another person who held decided opinions concerning the limita-

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in memory of the accidents which happened in two of his masques that he writes, "All is nothing, except the room be kept clear and neat."

tions of the King's power. He persuaded James to promote Coke to the office of chief justice of the King's Bench, where he could do less harm than in the Common Pleas. It was a genuine promotion in office, and afforded a larger income, but Coke knew why Bacon had suggested it.

As soon as Coke had left the Common Pleas and entered the King's Bench, Hobart, the attorney general, was promoted to the Common Pleas. This left the position of attorney general vacant. It was thus, in 1613, that Bacon acquired the office which he had been seeking for twenty years.

In this place Bacon proved himself to be in complete accord with the King's preferences. James approved highly of his statement, "I do not love the word *people*." He aided the King in endeavoring to put an end to the institution of dueling. He was very prominent, in his new office, in legal and criminal affairs. He endeavored to prove himself superior to his predecessors, Coke and Hobart.

When Coke had been in the Common Pleas Court he had passed a decision concerning the particular jurisdictions of the various courts. Due to his unrivaled knowledge of English law, this decision had

been taken by all as final. But the King had scented in it an infringement of his powers, and he caused Coke, now that he was out of the office, to be called before the council. The King was aided by Bacon and forced the council to pass a decree which declared Coke's decision to be illegal. Coke was forced to agree; he was suspended from office until he should have reviewed and amended the reports which he had published upon the basis of the now overruled decision.

Coke did so. But his corrections were examined and deemed "insufficient and contemptuous." In November, 1616, he was removed from his office. In the preface to the decree which removed him Bacon criticized not only Coke's errors of law, but also his "deceit, contempt and slander of the government, his perpetual turbulent carriage," and his affection for popularity.

It was thus that Bacon turned his power to advantage against his rival. Although he thought, in 1616, that Coke was crushed forever, he discovered himself, at no distant date, mistaken.

CHAPTER VII

ABOUT the year 1615, when the Earl of Somerset, until that time the King's favorite, became implicated in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, there appeared at the court a beautiful young man named George Villiers. When the King was with him the memory of Somerset began to fade; in rapid succession Villiers became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Master of the Horse, and a Knight of the Garter; and within two years of his first appearance at court he was created Earl Marquis, and finally Duke of Buckingham. His power was practically unlimited, so great was the King's infatuation.

It was fortunate for Bacon that from the very beginning he was upon the best of terms with young Villiers. As the boy attained position and power Bacon wrote to him (as he had done to Essex) a letter

of advice upon the behavior wise in a favorite. Their correspondence, which began then, ceased only with Bacon's death. Villiers wrote frequently asking Bacon's advice; he gave it, and frankly admitted to the young man that he depended upon him for his own future advancement.

In 1615 Lord Chancellor Ellesmere fell ill, and in a letter to the King Bacon set forth at length, and with his usual promptness, his claims to the office. He declared himself better fitted for the post than Hobart, whom he thought incompetent. And as to Archbishop Abbot, another possibility, "to have both jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal, was fit only for a king." It was impossible for James to resist the combination of that sentence and the recommendation of Villiers. In three days Bacon received word through the favorite that he would succeed Ellesmere. Not until a year had passed, however, did the Lord Chancellor resign. On the 7th of March, 1617, Bacon received into his hands the Great Seal of England, which his father had guarded before him, and with the seal went the title of Lord Keeper. His joy was intense. He was now, next to the King, the principal officer of the kingdom. He wrote to

Villiers (now Lord Buckingham), "I shall count every day lost, wherein I shall not either study your well doing in thought, or do your name honour in speech, or perform you service in deed." He wrote a letter of gratitude to the King, and in his high spirits he sent to Prince Charles a pair of small candlesticks, "that his light, and the light of his posterity, upon the Church and the Commonwealth," might never fail.

On the 7th of May he celebrated his formal installation as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. The King, Buckingham, and a large part of the court had left on a journey to Scotland, but despite their absence the ceremony was an elaborate one. Bacon, followed by two hundred horsemen, and clad from head to foot in purple satin, rode through London to Palace Yard. Here he made a great speech. Many smiled that Bacon should be appointed to one of the high legal positions of the kingdom, for his knowledge of the law far from equaled his skill at politics or his aims in philosophy. Immediately after his maiden speech he exhibited an awkwardness in handling a motion made by a young lawyer.

On the first day of his term as Lord Keeper he feasted

hundreds of followers at a banquet which cost him many hundreds of pounds. A few days later he invited the judges and leaders of the bar to dine. He made them a speech and declared that he saw "cheer and comfort in their faces, as if it were a new world." For Bacon considered his appointment to be the start of a new epoch in the courts, and he wrote to the King that he realized he was coming into office "with as strong envy on the part of a few, as with great love on the part of most."

It is undoubtedly true that Bacon's work in the courts was of the greatest efficiency. Three months after his appointment he was able to write proudly to Buckingham that he had entirely cleared up the arrears in the courts. Not a single suit was left unheard of the vast accumulation which had awaited him, owing to the continued bad health of his predecessor Ellesmere and the traditional sluggishness of the court.

During the absence of the King and court in Scotland he took great delight in acting as Lord Protector. He especially liked to give audiences in great state, preferably to ambassadors, in the banqueting house at Whitehall.

Tobie Matthew continued his exile on the Continent. Once, in 1611, he wrote in vain to Cecil, praying for permission to return to England. He continued his wandering life. In 1611 he traveled to Venice with another English Catholic, George Gage. From Venice they both went to Rome. They studied there for the priesthood and were both ordained by the Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmine. In 1614 he visited Spain and France.

At the very beginning of his exile Matthew had become acquainted, in France, with a young man named George Villiers. The state of his hopes may be imagined when in 1615 this young man began his dizzy rise. Matthew immediately began to work. All through 1616 he besought Villiers, both directly and through Bacon, for permission to return. At first Villiers seemed unwilling to press the matter. And when he did press it the King seemed unyielding. Finally, however, after much maneuvering on Bacon's part, and many prayers on the part of old Lady Matthew, James consented, and in the middle of July, 1617, Matthew, though still subject to certain restrictions, arrived in England.

He stayed as Bacon's guest in York House, and many

of his acquaintances visited him there. All urged him to take the oath of allegiance, and so remove all suspicion, but he refused so steadfastly that his friends were offended and angry. On the 26th of the month Bacon took him with him into the country, where they stayed for nearly a month. The open friendship of the Lord Keeper for a suspected papist priest caused society to talk, and, as Chamberlin wrote to a friend, some did not hesitate to say that "former private familiarity should give place to public respects."

In a very few weeks Bacon discovered that Buckingham considered himself first a master and then a friend.

Lady Hatton, whom Bacon had sought in marriage, but who had married Coke, was a beautiful woman. When Ben Jonson's famous "Masque of Beauty" was played before the King in 1607 she was one of the fifteen court beauties who appeared with the queen in the spectacle. She was left a widow at the age of twenty. Her marriage with Coke was a comedy, their married life a wrangle and a jest. As a girl she had been noted for the violence of her tem-

per, and Coke soon discovered the reports to be not exaggerated. She disdained to bear the name of her new husband, and insisted upon still being called Lady Hatton. Upon one occasion she slammed the door of her house in Coke's face, and upon another, when she was entertaining the court, refused to allow him to pass her gates, declaring that Lady Hatton, and not Sir Edward Coke, was doing the entertaining.

Coke was as noted for his miserliness as was his wife for her extravagance: he loved a book of law and a farthing candle; she, lights and revels, masques and plays. By day she entertained all the fashionable persons of London in her famous gardens at Hatton House in Holborn; by night a constant stream of fiddlers, musicians, and dancers poured through her galleries. When Coke investigated the private books of the wizard and seducer Simon Forman, in connection with the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, the very first name which he read, heading the list of those fashionable ladies who dabbled in the black arts, was that of Lady Hatton, his wife. The town mocked and jeered at him for a cuckold and a dupe;

he shrank from sight and spent much of his time in his study in Serjeant's Inn.

Bacon did not envy his rival's matrimonial success. One child was born of this turbulent marriage; she was named Frances Coke, and her beauty was celebrated by Ben Jonson:

> Though your either cheek discloses
> Mingled baths of milk and roses;
> Though your lips be banks of blisses,
> Where he plants and gathers kisses;
> And yourself the reason why
> Wisest men of love may die!

The girl was as wealthy as she was beautiful; she was heiress to her mother's Hatton House in London, to Corffee Castle in Dorsetshire, and to long reaches of iron sand, with the famous stone and marble quarries, on Purbeck Isle. But her temper was like her mother's.

Lady Compton, the mother of the Duke of Buckingham, had several other children, whose rise in life had not been as phenomenal as that of their brother. She looked about for a way to advance their fortunes, and decided that Frances Coke would be a good match for one of her younger sons, John Vil-

liers. As may be imagined, Coke approved violently of this union; his daughter would be a sister-in-law to the Duke of Buckingham, and in all probability it would restore Coke himself to His Majesty's favor. Nevertheless, he haggled at the size of the dowry which the Villierses demanded until ambition got so much the better of his pocketbooks that he consented to their terms.

He reckoned, however, without consulting his wife or his daughter. They both violently opposed the match, and after a loud quarrel Lady Hatton and Frances rushed out of London and hid themselves in the country. Coke hurried to Bacon and demanded from him, as Lord Chancellor, a warrant for the arrest of his wife and daughter. Bacon refused it, both because he thought the King, with whom Coke was in such deep disgrace, would wish him to refuse it, and also because it did not pain him to see Coke in a helpless rage. Coke immediately procured a warrant from another official, pursued his wife and daughter into the country, discovered the house in which they had taken refuge, and battered down the door with several assistants and a huge beam, and dragged Frances out into his coach.

Lady Hatton, furious with anger, drove immediately to London, and after a wild ride, during which her coach overturned, arrived at Bacon's house, only to find him ill and asleep. She demanded that his servants place her in the room next to where Bacon was sleeping, that she might be the first to speak with him when he awoke. They did so, and left her alone in the room, quietly seated in a chair. No sooner, however, had the servants left the room than she thumped against Bacon's door so loudly that she not only awoke him but nearly frightened him out of his wits. He called for his men in a loud voice. They opened the door to see who was making the noise, and at that moment Lady Hatton forced her way to Bacon's bedside, "desiring his Lordship to pardon her boldness, but she was like a cow that had lost her calf." After a scene of anger on both her part and Bacon's she procured a warrant which called her husband and her daughter before the council.

In this court both sides of the family were ordered to keep their peace. Frances was temporarily taken out of the hands of her rival parents, and the council ordered Coke to be brought before the Star Chamber for "riot and force."

Bacon supposed that Buckingham and the court would be as angry as Lady Hatton at the outrageous behavior of Coke. He wrote to them—they were out of London on a progress—urging them to put an end to this match. What was Bacon's amazement to discover, after a few days, that Buckingham strongly approved of the match, since it would advance the fortunes of his younger brother, that the King supported Buckingham and condemned the proceedings of the council as gross misconduct! In letters to Bacon the King rejected all explanations, justified Coke's actions, and charged Bacon with disrespect and ingratitude to Buckingham, for Buckingham had secured for him the office of Lord Chancellor, which he was now using to the disadvantage of Buckingham's brother.

Coke did not hesitate to take advantage of his position. He hurried to court, secured the ear of Buckingham, and poured into it violent denunciations of Bacon. Within a short while Buckingham publicly called Bacon forgetful and unfaithful and declared that indeed little else could be expected from a man who had acted as Bacon had to the Earl of Essex. A disgrace more complete or more unpleasant can

scarcely be imagined. Bacon realized that he was in immediate danger of losing his position and being ruined forever. He did not think that he had acted unjustly in the matter; his activities had been on the side of peace and order. Absolute submission to Buckingham and the King was the only course open to him if he desired to keep his office.

Buckingham's letter of forgiveness declared that the King still considered Bacon's explanations confused and childish. It stated that, despite any semblance to the contrary, Buckingham had chastised Bacon through necessity rather than inclination, and that he did not doubt Bacon would have occasion to make good his reputation by sincere service to His Majesty and kindness to his friends, and that for his part Buckingham desired to be considered the most faithful of them.

Bacon replied to that condescending letter:

My Ever Best Lord, now better than yourself:
Your Lordship's pen, or rather pencil, hath portrayed towards me such magnanimity and nobleness and true kindness, as methinketh I see the image of some ancient virtue, and not anything of these times. It is the line of my life, and not the lines of my letter, that must express my

thankfulness: wherein if I fail, then God fail me, and make me as miserable as I think myself at this time happy by this reviver, through his Majesty's singular clemency, and your incomparable love and favour. God preserve you, prosper you, and reward you for your kindness to Your raised and infinitely obliged friend and servant,

FR. BACON, C. S.[1]

Sept. 22, 1617.

Before this date the letters of Bacon to Buckingham convey to a reader the impression of a combination of flattery and true regard; after this date (and up to Bacon's death he continued to write them) the flattery is doubled, but it may be questioned whether any esteem remains.

For all practical purposes, however, their reconciliation was complete, and after that interval of a few

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[1]The gossip about London was that "on two successive days, after the scandal, Bacon repaired to Buckingham's house, and on two successive days he was suffered to remain in an antechamber among foot-boys, seated on an old wooden box with the Great Seal of England at his side, and when at length he was admitted, he flung himself on the floor, kissed Buckingham's feet, and vowed never to rise till he was forgiven."

This tale is important only because it indicates in what manner it was possible for the contemporary Londoner to think of Bacon.

distressing weeks Bacon became once more one of the most influential and chief persons in England. At New Year's, 1618, he was created a marquis. On the Sunday after New Year's his official title was amended from that of Lord Keeper to that of Lord Chancellor. On July 12th he was created Baron Verulam of Verulam.[1]

In the same year he took part in the trial and condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh, who, as an enemy of Spain, was one of the prices James was only too glad to pay for reconciliation with that country. Tobie Matthew, living now in London, was engaged in writing a dedication to an Italian translation of Bacon's *Essays* and the *Wisdom of the Ancients.* The book was published in London in 1618 under the title of *Saggi Morali del Signore Francesco Bacon, cavaliere Inglese, gran cancelliere d'Inghilterra.* The volume was dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, whom Matthew had known in Italy, and in the dedicatory letter he wrote lavishly of the excellencies of Bacon. After setting

[1]It is thus incorrect to refer to him as "Lord Bacon." He should be called "Francis Bacon" or "Sir Francis Bacon" or "Lord Verulam."

forth Bacon's career and intellectual accomplishments he goes on:

> And I can truly say (having had the honour to know him for many years as well when he was in his lesser fortunes as now that he stands at the top and in the full flower of his greatness) that I never yet saw any trace in him of a vindictive mind, whatever injury were done him, nor ever heard him utter a word to any man's disadvantage which seemed to proceed from personal feeling against the man, but only (and that too very seldom) from judgment made of him in cold blood. It is not his greatness that I admire, but his virtue: it is not the favours I have received from him (infinite though they be) that have thus enthralled and enchained my heart, but his whole life and character; which are such, that, if he were of an inferior condition I could not honour him the less, and if he were my enemy I should not the less love and endeavour to serve him.

Soon after the publication of this translation, however, it became noised about London that Matthew was taking advantage of his permission to live in England by making frequent converts to the Roman Church. Once again he was ordered to take the oath of allegiance. Once more he refused. He was ordered to go to York and remain there under the custody

of his father. In October he was once more ordered out of the country, but secured a delay until December because he had four lawsuits pending. Finally, on December 17th, he was commanded to leave the country at once, and in a day or so he sailed for Flanders. There he immediately interested himself in the exiled English religious orders. In Brussels, however, he fell ill. One day he wrote to Bacon:

MOST HONOURABLE LORD:

It may please your Lordship, there was with me this day one Mr. Richard White, who hath spent some little time at Florence, and is now gone into England. He tells me, that Galileo had answered your discourse concerning the flux and reflux of the sea, and was sending it unto me; but that Mr. White hindered him, because his answer was grounded upon a false supposition, namely, that there was in the ocean a full sea but once in twenty-four hours. But now I will call upon Galileo again. This Mr. White is a discreet and understanding gentleman, though he seem a little soft, if not slow; and he hath in his hands all the works, as I take it, of Galileo, some printed, and some unprinted. He hath his discourse of the flux and reflux of the sea, which was never printed; as also a discourse of the mixture of metals. Those which are printed in his hand are these: the *Nuncius sidereus;* the *Macchie solari,* and a third *Delle Cose, che stanno su l'acqua,* by occasion of a disputation that was amongst learned men in Flor-

ence about that which Archimedes wrote *de insidentibus humido.*

I have conceived that your Lordship would not be sorry to see these discourses of that man, and therefore I have thought it belonging to my service to your Lordship to give him a letter of this date, though it will not be there as soon as this. . . . I most humbly do your Lordship reverence.

Your Lordship's most obliged servant,
TOBIE MATTHEW.

Brussels, from my bed, the 4th of April, 1619.

For, despite his legal and political affairs, Bacon was not neglecting the *Great Instauration.* In 1620, finally, he completed and published the entire second section of that vast plan; it was called the *Novum Organum.* It was designed to supplant entirely, for modern use, the *Organon* of Aristotle. This work had been long in the preparation. Bacon had sent a draft of part of it to Tobie Matthew in 1609, and Matthew's scent of heresy in the work was not without cause. Had it been published in Rome instead of London its author would unquestionably have been handed over to the Inquisition.

Scholars at home and abroad recognized at once the

value of the work. In England, however, there were at least two persons who failed to appreciate the *Novum Organum*. King James, to whom the book was dedicated, made a proper and grateful reply to that honor. He was not, however, a serious student of philosophy or natural science, and his private opinion of the work, expressed to friends at court, was that "it was like the peace of God; it passeth all understanding."

Sir Edward Coke wrote on the flyleaf of his copy:

> It deserveth not to be read in schools,
> But to be freighted in the Ship of Fools.

On January 22, 1621, Bacon was sixty years old. He was at the very height of his career. A few days before he had been created not only Baron Verulam but also Viscount St. Albans. A great birthday feast was held in York House. The mansion was crowded with friends. Ben Jonson read a birthday ode.[1] A great pageant in honor of Bacon's birthday was presented by the court at Theobalds, the royal coun-

[1]One line in this ode reads, "Thou stand'st as tho a mystery thou didst." This "mystery," certain Baconians insist, was the writing of the Shakespeare plays. *Cf.* Appendix, 2.

try seat. All the great courtiers took part in this entertainment, and Buckingham himself was one of the chief actors.

Three days later the Parliament met which was to cast Francis Bacon from these high positions. But he was now one of the most prominent, influential, and respected men in England. His political, literary, and philosophical accomplishments were great. His public life was a success. Let us take a nearer view of the man in the days of his greatness.

CHAPTER VIII

ST. ALBANS was a large town in Hertfordshire, with many inns and a large abbey church.[1] Near St. Albans was Gorhambury, the house which Bacon had planned to elaborate. The old Gothic house, to which Sir Nicholas had added two Tudor wings, had been recently adorned with a noble classic portico fronting the south gardens. The interior was luxuriously furnished, and the first thing which struck the eye of the visitor was the large portrait of King James in the hall.

Beyond the gardens was an oak wood. Here Bacon much delighted to walk, and under the trees he planted peonies and tulips. From this wood a small

[1]St. Albans City is now a fairly busy town, many of the inhabitants of which commute daily to London. It is still charming, especially along the river below the cathedral.

gate opened into a large coppice wood full of broad and intersecting walks. Here he was accustomed to stroll and meditate, with a servant attending him with a pen and inkhorn to set down his notions. Near by was an orchard of plum trees, with raspberry bushes bordering some of its paths. Here and there, where they would command the best views, were built elegant little summerhouses which resembled Roman temples. This wood was a sanctuary for pheasants and partridges. During the spring rains Bacon was accustomed to drive along the woodland paths in his open carriage, "to receive the benefit of irrigation which he was wont to say was very wholesome because of the nitre in the air and the universal spirit of the world."

The feature of the gardens of which Bacon was most proud was the fish ponds, which he had elaborated so that they were now a series of small lakes. They were of various shapes and sizes, and pitched at the bottom with brightly colored pebbles in the designs of fish, etc., which would be plainly seen through the clear water. If a poor person brought Bacon half a dozen curious pebbles he would give him a shilling. The ponds covered four acres, and on the island in

the middle of the middlemost pond was a "curious banquetting house of Roman architecture, paved with black and white marble, covered with Cornish slate, and neatly wainscotted."

Near St. Albans was the village of Verulam, which had once been a fair-sized Roman city, and of whose walls some remains were yet to be seen. Bacon had it in mind to have the great city entirely reconstructed, and he had drawn up elaborate and detailed plans of its construction, but nothing came of them. Within the bounds of the walls of this old city of Verulam was Verulam House. This mansion Bacon erected at the cost of ten thousand pounds. The rooms were lofty and well wainscotted. It contained luxurious bathing rooms, into which Bacon would frequently retire and emulate the ancient Romans. Verulam House he considered his summer residence —in his essay on building he says one should have summer and winter houses just as one has summer and winter clothes.

Verulam House was about a mile from Gorhambury, and the two houses were connected by a magnificent triple avenue of trees. In the middle avenue three coaches could pass abreast, and in the others

two. The trees were stately elms, chestnuts, beeches, hornbeams, and Spanish ashes. The tops of the trees, especially in the autumn, when they were brightly colored, afforded a magnificent prospect from the promenade which was constructed on the roof of Verulam House. Through the lines of these trees was a noble long vista, along the avenue, over the lawns, and up to the façade of Gorhambury.[1]

Through his extensive woodlands Bacon loved to stroll, often accompanied by his special friend, Mr. Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury. Whenever a notion would dart into Bacon's head Hobbes would write it down.[2] Bacon said that Hobbes did this better than anyone else, for when he read the notes of others he was frequently unable to understand what they had written because they had not understood it clearly themselves.

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[1]This description of Bacon's estates near St. Albans is based upon the notes made by John Aubrey. Gorhambury House is now nothing but a very small heap of ruins, the lakes have shrunk to one water hole where sheep drink, and of the elaborate landscaping practically no traces remain.

[2]"Mr. Hobbes told me that he was employed in translating (into Latin) part of the *Essayes*, viz. three of them, one whereof was that of the Greatness of Cities, the other two I have now forgot."—AUBREY.

Bacon maintained more than fifty servants at Gorhambury, and when he came himself he brought many more from town. He had crowds of guests perpetually about him, and it is characteristic of him that among all these people he conducted experiments, wrote, and meditated. He never yearned for solitude. His servants wore liveries with his crest —a boar's head—and none of them ever dared appear before him without Spanish leather boots. The smell of inferior leather offended him.

In town, at York House, Bacon lived with equal magnificence. Here he maintained a staff of more than a hundred servants. Many of these were "servants" in almost no sense of the word; they were retainers, youths of good family who turned York House into what was almost another inn of court. They lived with the utmost extravagance; it is said that Bacon kept his money in ready cash in table drawers, from which they could help themselves at will. Several of these boys kept their own coaches, and others owned race horses. Some of them aided Bacon in his experiments, took his dictation, aided him in legal and political matters; and at least one of them, Sir Thomas Meautys, always remained

faithful to him and was of assistance to him after his fall.

Many of the boys, to whom London referred as "Bacon's Ganymedes," took bribes. A man whose lawsuit was in Bacon's hands might come in with gifts which, he hoped, would influence the decision. These men seldom saw Bacon himself. They left their gifts with the boys, who would assure them they would attend to the matter. Other men, their suits favorably decided, came in and left gifts to express their gratitude. Bacon seldom saw these donations and frequently knew nothing about them. The East India Merchants, on one occasion, brought in a cabinet full of jewels; it was later discovered that Bacon's page Cockaine had received them and kept them for himself.

Indeed, the procession of gifts, not only from suitors but from friends, was perpetual. If he had to be at York House during the summer months his wife would send him flowers and fruit from Gorhambury. Lady Hatton frequently sent her man with flowers, plants, and seeds. (Lady Hatton's gardens in Holborn were the light of fashionable London, and the perfume of her roses could be smelled by the

prisoners in Newgate Yard.) The royal gardener brought muskmelons, someone else sent in an elaborate sundial, carved in stone in a design of books. Friends sent him confectionery, such as sugar cakes and preserved apricots; others pheasants, partridges, quails, swans, fish, fruits, berries, and cheeses. Each of these gifts meant a tip to the servant who brought it, and Bacon was most generous. When the King sent him a buck he gave the servant ten pounds. The King exclaimed, when the man praised Bacon's generosity, "I and he shall both die beggars."

Bacon's expenditures were reckless. His bills to the linen draper and the sempstress for cloth and lace, and for his ruffs, cuffs, and shirts, were enormous. His laundry bills were huge, and he spent much for looking glasses, shoes, and perfumes, and to upholsterers, silk merchants, and tailors. He purchased frequent articles of jewelry, and he had his portrait painted. He spent much money on musicians. Music was about him constantly, especially at his meals; and when he meditated he frequently had musicians play in the next room. He not only paid his own musicians large salaries, but tipped those at court liberally when they delighted him, and when he was

a guest at another house he always tipped the musicians there. At every meal he had his table strewn with sweet herbs and flowers, which he said refreshed his spirits and memory.

In the York House gardens, which stretched down to the river, he constructed an elaborate aviary at the cost of three hundred pounds. He filled it with valuable birds. Once he rewarded his washerwoman, when she sent someone after one of his cranes, which had flown out into the Thames. He employed several watermen to row him up and down the river (for travel by water was quick and easy), and the fashionable young men about London took as much pride in being rowed by Lord Bacon's watermen as by the King's.

His house was always full of friends. He was intimate with Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, with John Donne the Dean of St. Paul's, with the poet George Herbert, and with Ben Jonson. Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, was his great friend and acquaintance, as was Richard, Earl of Dorset. The latter, when invited to Bacon's table, frequently brought along an amanuensis to take down his host's sayings.

Bacon's chaplain reports that his diet was plentiful rather than restrained, but that his dinners were refections of the ear as well as of the stomach, "like the *noctes Atticæ*, wherein a man might be refreshed in his mind and understanding, no less than in his body." Many did not hesitate to record the brilliant and learned conversation in their notebooks. Bacon was, the chaplain continues,

> no dashing man in conversation, as some men are, but ever a countenancer and fosterer of another man's parts. Neither was he one that would appropriate the speech wholly to himself; or delight to out-vie others. He would draw a man on, and allure him to speak upon such a subject as wherein he was peculiarly skilful, and would delight to speak. And for himself he condemned no man's observations, but would light his torch at every man's candle. There was no argumentation, or Pro and Con (as they term it) at his table; or if there chanced to be any, it was carried on with much submission and moderation.

Bacon's chaplain was not the only one to leave us a record of the excellence of his conversation. It was, Ben Jonson declared, full of wit and jests. When those qualities were absent it was

> nobly censorious. No man ever spoke more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less

idleness, in what he uttered. His hearers could not cough, or look aside from him, with losse. The fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end.

He still took the most elaborate care of his health, and pampered himself with remedies and preventatives. He looked older than his years, and concocted various preparations to preserve his youth. One of these, composed of "nitre, amber-grease, orris-powder, poppy-seed, saffron, orange-water and traganth," he formed into pills to be taken at bedtime, and called them "Grains of Youth." Another, which was excellent "against the dryness of age," he called "Methusalem Water." It was evolved out of claret wine, rosemary, pearl powder, milk, cucumber, gold, crab shells, and chalk.

He had lists of remedies against the gout, melancholia, and stomach pains. His list of physics is long and detailed, and rivaled only by his list of astringents. He enjoyed broth made of "barley, thyme, rosemary, and cresses." He was especially fond of water in which orange blossoms had been crushed; this he smelled or snuffed up.

He had specific directions for certain hours of the

day. When he was in the country he liked, in the third hour after sunrise, to "take in air from some high and open place, with a ventilation of rose-water and fresh violets." He would then proceed to "stir the earth, and pour into it wine and mint, and inhale the refreshing fumes."

At bedtime he liked to dip a bit of bread into fine wine mixed with syrup or roses and amber.

He found it inadvisable to keep his body in the same position for more than half an hour at a time. For this reason he always interspersed his studies with relaxations, such as a short walk, or a ride in his coach. As soon as he felt he had had sufficient exercise, however, he returned to his books. He "suffered no moment of time to slip from him, without some present improvement."

He wrote four precepts in his journals: not to fall into routine habits, to shake off his bad spirits when he was ill disposed, to meditate on youth, and to do nothing "against a man's genius."

"Heroic desires" he found beneficial, and also a foot bath once a month. This latter rite he performed with the aid of "lye ex sale nigro, camomile, sweet marjoram, fennel, sage and a little aqua vitæ." Break-

fast he considered an important meal, and ate heartily at that time.

Whether despite or because of this elaborate care for his health, he was not steadily well. He suffered frequent dizzy spells.[1] And at every eclipse of the moon, whether he saw it or not, he was certain to be seized with a sudden fit of fainting, which left him, without any remaining weakness, as soon as the eclipse ended.

Now that the *Novum Organum* was published, Bacon expended his scientific activities upon the third part of the *Instauration*, the great *Natural History*. Almost every day he and his assistants conducted experiments upon animals and other natural objects. His chaplain, Dr. Rawley, was his chief assistant, but showed a propensity toward experiments which were interesting and quaint without being very informing. Bacon himself constructed an elaborate engine representing the motion of the planets. His painstaking method of experimentation

[1] On one occasion as he was walking with Sir John and Lady Danvers in their Chelsea garden, in which he took much delight, he suddenly fell down in a dead swoon. Lady Danvers rubbed his face and his temples and gave him cordial water, and as soon as he came to himself he said, "Madam, I am no good footman."

was criticized by certain scholars as being too slow. To them he replied, "Gentlemen, nature is a labyrinth, in which the very haste you move with will make you lose your way."

On the bench Bacon's manner was a combination of severity and kindness. He persisted in his habit of being unnecessarily severe toward people who had been his friends. His behavior toward Yelverson, who had almost alone stood by Bacon in the Edward Coke disgrace, and who had later fallen into trouble himself, was unflaggingly hounding. He kept Buckingham informed of this behavior, possibly so that Buckingham could not accuse him of favoring his friends. But he allowed the Duke to write him letters concerning his own friends who were coming up for lawsuits, and toward whom Buckingham recommended consideration or clemency. There is no indication, however, that Bacon allowed these letters to influence his judgment. It is significant that his decrees in chancery have stood firm; fewer of his decrees have been reversed than of any other chancellor.

And yet, while Bacon was often unnecessarily severe in the amount of his prosecution, he was noted for

the kindness of his manner while on the bench. He was never, like Coke, of an insulting or domineering nature toward the offenders; he was as "one that looked upon the example with the eye of severity, but upon the person with the eye of pity and compassion." The King himself commended Bacon for dealing in business "*suavibus modis,* which was the way that was most according to his own heart."

Bacon continued a Member of Parliament even after he had been appointed attorney general; this was a privilege not extended to any other attorney. His speeches were glorified extensions of his famous conversations. He never overcame a nervousness when speaking in public, however, and Ben Jonson said that he "wrung his speeches from the strings of his band, as did the other councillors from the picking of their teeth."

Whether or not Bacon possessed genuine affections for people would seem to be unknown. There is one letter extant which indicates tenderness toward a niece, and there are the letters to Tobie Matthew. In the absence of further evidence on this subject, however, we shall think of him as an epicure, a charming host, an accomplished scholar, a vigorous thinker, and an able judge.

CHAPTER IX

ONE of the most prominent characters in the Parliament of January, 1621, was Lionel Cranfield. This person was the son of a London merchant. He had attracted the notice of influential people by his display of extraordinary business ability and had risen rapidly to membership in the Privy Council. He was one of the first "self-made men," and his phenomenal rise and dizzy fall form a most interesting biography. His position at the extravagant court of James I was that of "efficiency expert"; it was his duty to save the court and the government as much money as possible. So excellent was he at this work that the Queen complained of the consequent inferiority of the royal menu. Cranfield uncovered huge scandals in the treasury and in the navy, and it was not until 1624, when he was discovered taking

to himself much of the money which he saved the government, that he fell from office.

In 1621, however, Cranfield was interested in the question of monopolies.

Certain favored persons, as had long been the custom, were in the possession of monopolies, or patents from the King, which empowered them to set an annual fine on all people who kept inns or ale houses throughout England. Without a licence from the holder of monopolies no man could conduct a public house, and whoever would not readily pay the sum which he was assessed was sure of being harassed and plundered or thrown into jail. Similar patents were held over the makers and sellers of gold and silver lace.

Into this system, obviously an unjust one at best, had crept the most flagrant abuses. The holders of the monopolies over the innkeepers levied the most exorbitant and impossible taxes upon them. In the field of the lacemakers it was discovered that two scoundrels named Mompesson and Michel had abused their monopoly by putting off, for true, great quantities of counterfeit lace. This lace was wrought up and embased with copper and other poisonous

materials, and whoever dared to make or sell genuine lace was punished by fine and imprisonment.

It was this condition of affairs which Cranfield incited the Parliament of 1621 to investigate. Their discoveries were amazing.

They discovered that Buckingham himself had bestowed these patents upon those who were in his favor; that Mompesson and Michel, notoriously criminal, had received their patents directly from his hands, and that Buckingham's half brother, Edward Villiers, was connected with them in their extortionate business. And it was also discovered that several lawyers, among whom the most prominent was Francis Bacon, had signed over these patents to whomever Buckingham recommended and had certified that they were legal.

It was at first thought that the high offices of those in question would ensure them against further investigation or prosecution. Such proved not to be the case.

Cranfield, in conference with the King, declared that in the light of the recent disclosures which had displayed Buckingham and Bacon to be the two most prominent men involved, one of them, at least, would

have to be handed over to the pleasures of Parliament. The result was obvious. In order to divert attention from the misdoings of his favorite, the King abandoned Bacon to the most persistent investigation. Nor did Cranfield object to the King's choice; in his office of Master of the Wards he had recently been engaged in a bitter legal dispute with the Lord Chancellor, and he much preferred to urge prosecution against him than against the all-powerful Duke of Buckingham, who had made his own fortune.

Parliament was calling louder and louder, insisting that those at fault be brought out. Coke, back in the House after recovering from his disgrace, was especially active in these demands. No names had yet been mentioned, but Cranfield, after his talk with the King, arose and demanded indignantly, "The honour of the King demands that the referees be called to account. The plague spot is the Court of Chancery; why are ye afraid to touch it?"

It was when this speech was reported to him that Bacon realized the seriousness of his position.

After a conference the Commons decided to bring the whole matter before the House of Lords, and a separate committee was appointed to investigate cer-

tain rumored cases of corruption in the Court of Chancery.

The King wrote to Bacon, warning him that his connection with the monopolies was likely to prove dangerous. With James's aid Bacon was able to have the conference in the House of Lords postponed for a few days. They endeavored to avert it altogether, but the Lords were eager for it.

Bacon, however, wrote to Buckingham:

I do hear from divers of judgment, that to-morrow's conference is like to pass in a calm, as to the referees. Sir Lionel Cranfield, who hath been formerly the trumpet, said yesterday, that he did now incline to Sir John Walter's opinion and motion not to have the referees meddled with, otherwise than to discount it from the King; and so not to look back, but to the future. And I do hear almost all men of judgment in the House wish now that way. I woo no body; I do but listen, and I have doubt only of Sir Edward Coke, who I wish had some round *caveat* given him from the King; for your Lordship hath no great power with him: but I think a word from the King mates him. . . .

Always, my good Lord, let us think of times out of Parliament, as well as the present time in Parliament, and let us not all be put *es pourpoint*. Fair and moderate courses are ever best in causes of estate; the rather, because I wish this Parliament, by the sweet and united passages there-

of, may increase the King's reputation with foreigners; who may make a far other judgment than we mean, of a beginning to question great counsellors and officers of the crown, by courts or assemblies of estates. But the reflexion upon my particular in this makes me more sparing than perhaps, as a counsellor, I ought to be. God ever preserve and prosper you.

The conference did turn out to be dull. No names were even yet mentioned. Cranfield arose and said that it was his opinion that the charges had better not be pressed. But, as Bacon had feared, Coke immediately retorted that if Parliament followed Cranfield's advice it would be neglecting its duty, and that it must press on.

A few days later another conference was held in the House of Lords. The charges were driven home. The referees were listed by name; at the head of the list was the name of Bacon. He arose at once to explain and justify his acts, but was immediately stopped and reminded that he was transgressing the orders of the House in speaking until the committees were named to examine the matter.

An English nobleman, an acquaintance of Bacon's, at this time on a mission in Brussels, told Tobie

Matthew of Bacon's difficulties, and would seem to have censured him severely. Matthew wrote to Bacon at once, asking to know exactly what the situation was. Bacon replied:

SIR:

I say to you, upon the occasion which you give me in your last, *Modicæ fidei quare dubitasti?* I would not have my friends (though I know it to be out of love) too apprehensive either of me, or for me; for I thank God my ways are sound and good, and I hope God will bless me in them. When once my master, and afterwards myself, were both of us in extremity of sickness (which was no time to dissemble) I never had so great pledges and certainties of his love and favour: and that which I knew then, such as took a little poor advantage of these latter times, know since. As for the nobleman who passed that way by you, I think he is fallen out with me for his pleasure, or else perhaps to make good some of his own mistakings. For he cannot in his heart but think worthily of my affection and well deserving towards him; and as for me, I am very sure that I love his nature and parts.

But, despite Bacon's confidence in his king, as shown in this last letter, James made no effort to save him. Bacon went to Buckingham and begged him to use his credit with the King on his behalf; "and being told that he stood so well in the King's favour that

he needed no intercessor with him, replied that he thought he did stand very well, but that the best fire will always burn the brighter if it be properly blown." On the contrary, James declared in a speech to the House of Lords that he himself was not guilty of the recently discovered grievances, but that he had "grounded his judgment upon others who misled him."

On the fifteenth of March the committee appointed to investigate the rumored bribery reported its findings. As the records go:

> The incomparable good parts of the Lord Chancellor were highly commended; his place he holds, magnified; from whence bounty, justice and mercy, were to be distributed to the subjects, with which he was solely trusted; whither all great causes were drawn, and from whence no appeal lay for any injustice or wrong done, save to the Parliament.
>
> That the Lord Chancellor is accused of great bribery and corruption, committed by him in this eminent place. Whereof two cases were alleged; the one concerning Christopher Awbrey, the other concerning Edward Egerton.
>
> In the cause depending in Chancery between this Awbrey and Sir William Brouncker, Awbrey, feeling some hard measure, was advised to give the Lord Chancellor

an hundred pounds; the which he delivered to his counsel (Sir George Hastings) and he to the Lord Chancellor. This business proceeding slowly notwithstanding, Awbrey did write divers letters, and delivered them to the Lord Chancellor, but could never have any answer from his Lordship; but at last, delivering another letter, his Lordship answered, "If he importune him, he will lay him by the heels."

The proofs of this accusation are five:

1. Sir George Hastings related it long since unto Sir Charles Mountague. 2. The Lord Chancellor, fearing this would be complained of, desired silence of Sir George Hastings. 3. Sir George Hastings' testimony thereof, which was not voluntary, but urged. 4. The Lord Chancellor desired Sir George Hastings to bring the party (Awbrey) unto him, and promised redress of the wrongs done him. 5. That the Lord Chancellor said unto Sir George Hastings, if he would affirm the giving this hundred pounds, his Lordship would and must deny it upon his honour.

The case of Edward Egerton is this. There being suits depending between Edward Egerton and Sir Rowland Egerton, in the Chancery, Edward Egerton presented his Lordship (a little after he was Lord Keeper) with a bason and ewre of fifty pounds and above; and afterwards, he delivered unto Sir George Hastings and Sir Richard Younge four hundred pounds in gold, to be presented unto his Lordship. Sir Richard Younge presented it; his Lordship took it, poised it, and said it was too

much, and returned answer, that Mr. Egerton had not only enriched him, but had laid a tie upon his Lordship to do him favour in all his just causes.

The proofs are, the testimony of Sir George Hastings, and the testimony of Merefyll, a scrivener, thus far, that he took up seven hundred pounds for Mr. Egerton, Mr. Egerton then telling him, that a great part of it was to be given to the Lord Chancellor; and that Mr. Egerton afterwards told him that the four hundred pounds in gold was given to the Lord Chancellor. . . .

They humbly desire that, forasmuch as this concerns a person of so great eminency, it may not depend long before your Lordships; that the examination of the proofs may be expedited; and, if he be found guilty, then to be punished; if not guilty, the accusers to be punished.

So far the charges were but these two, but they inflamed the Parliament. All consideration of the other and less prominent referees, whose actions in certifying to the legality of the patents were as wrong as Bacon's, was dropped. Attention was turned to Bacon alone. The question before the House seemed no longer to be that of the monopolies, but that of Bacon's bribes.

The House of Lords plunged into the case at once. On that very day they began to swear and examine the witnesses who came forward with fresh testi-

mony against Bacon, and the next day they appointed three special committees, with "power to take examinations of all points generally concerning this business; with this special caution, that none be urged to accuse himself." The following questions were to be asked of all the witnesses:

1. Whether they, by themselves or any other person, have ever given money or other gratuity to the Lord Chancellor, or to any other servants, friends, or followers of his?
2. Whether they have advised or directed any so to do, or known of any other that hath so done?
3. Whether they, or the parties which they advised so to do, or have heard so to have done, had then any cause or suit depending before him, or intended to have any?
4. Whether they have intended, attempted, or contracted for any gratuity so to be given, though not performed?

After reading the two charges Bacon wrote to Buckingham:

My very good Lord:
Your Lordship spake of Purgatory. I am now in it, but my mind is in a calm; for my fortune is not in my felicity. I know I have clean hands and a clean heart; and I *hope* a clean house for friends or servants. But Job himself, or whosoever was the justest judge, by such hunt-

ing for matters against him as hath been used against me, may for a time seem foul, specially in a time when greatness is the mark and accusation is the game. And if this be to be a Chancellor, I think if the great seal lay upon Hounslow Heath, nobody would take it up. But the King and your Lordship will, I hope, put an end to these miseries one way or other. And in troth that which I fear most is lest continual attendance and business, together with these cares, and want of time to do my own weak body right this spring by diet and physic, will cast me down; and then it will be thought feigning or fainting. But I hope in God I shall hold out. God prosper you.

One can feel for Bacon, who thus puts his trust in the two masters who had determined to sacrifice him, and whose hopes for a "clean house for friends or servants" had already been proved so baseless. One aspect of the accusations would seem not to have been considered by Parliament—both accusations came from persons whose decrees, in spite of the bribes, had been adverse. Whether Bacon knew of the bribes or not, he had not allowed them to interfere with his judgments.

The two charges had been first read in the Commons; the Commons had then laid them before the House of Lords on March 19th. On that day he sank

under the strain and weight of the trouble; he found himself unable to go into the House, and wrote the following letter to the Lords:

MY VERY GOOD LORDS:

I humbly pray your Lordships all to make a favourable and true construction of my absence. It is no feigning nor fainting, but sickness both of my heart and of my back, though joined with that comfort of mind, that perswadeth me that I am not far from heaven, whereof I feel the first fruits. And because, whether I live or die, I would be glad to preserve my honour and fame, as far as I am worthy; hearing that some complaints of base bribery are come before your Lordships, my requests unto your Lordships are: first, that you will maintain me in your good opinion, without prejudice, until my cause be heard; secondly, that, in regard I have sequestred my mind at this time in great part from worldly matters, thinking of my account and answer in a higher court, your Lordships would give me some convenient time, according to the course of other courts, to advise with my counsel, and to make my answer; wherein nevertheless my counsel's part will be the least; for I shall not, by the grace of God, trick up an innocency with cavillations; but plainly and ingenuously (as your Lordships know my manner is) declare what I know or remember; thirdly, that, according to the course of justice, I may be allowed to except to the witnesses brought against me, and to move questions to your Lordships for their cross-examination,

and likewise to produce my own witnesses for discovery of the truth; and lastly, if there come any more petitions of like nature, that your Lordships would be pleased not to take any prejudice or apprehension of any number or muster of them, especially against a Judge that makes two thousand decrees and orders in a year (not to speak of the courses that have been taken for hunting out complaints against me); but that I may answer them, according to the rules of justice, severally and respectively. These requests I hope appear to your Lordships no other than just. And so, thinking myself happy to have so noble Peers and reverend Prelates to discern of my cause, and desiring no privilege of greatness for subterfuge of guiltiness, but meaning (as I said) to deal fairly and plainly with your Lordships, and to put myself upon your honours and favours, I pray God to bless your counsels and your persons; and rest

Your Lordships' humble servant,

Fr. St. Alban, Canc.

19th March, 1620.

This letter was delivered to the Lords by Buckingham; it was read aloud, and the Lords sent back the following verbal answer:

That the Lords received his Lordship's letter delivered unto them by the Lord Admiral: they intend to proceed in his cause (now before their Lordships) according to the right rule of justice: and they shall be glad if his

Lordship shall clear his honour therein: to which end they pray his Lordship to provide for his defense.

Bacon was dismayed by this answer, for it was really no answer at all. Would Parliament allow him to "except to witnesses brought against him," to "move questions for their cross-examination," and "to produce his own witnesses for discovery of the truth"? These matters had been ignored in the reply.
He was much disturbed, and he sent the following message to the Lords:

That the Lord Chancellor returns the Lords humble thanks for their Lordships' assurance of justice in his cause, and well wishes to him of the success. The one secures, the other comforts him. That he intends to put their Lordships in mind hereafter of some points contained in his Lordship's letter, for the same were not spoken of in the message delivered unto him.

The case was now entirely in the hands of the Lords. At first it had been so arranged that the Commons was prosecuting and the Lords judging the evidence which the Commons collected; now, however, the Lords had become the prosecutors.
Many new witnesses came forward with fresh cases

of bribes received by Bacon's household. A contemporary letter states that

the Houses are working hard at cleansing out the Augean stable of monopolies, and also extortions in Courts of Justice. The petitions against the Lord Chancellor are too numerous to be got through; his chief friends and brokers of bargains, Sir George Hastings, and Sir Richard Young, and others attacked, are obliged to accuse him in their own defense, though very reluctantly. His ordinary bribes were 300, 400, and even 1000. The Lords admit no evidence except on oath.[1]

As the charges mounted up Bacon looked anxiously for aid from court. He wrote to the King:

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

Time hath been when I have brought unto you *gemitum columbæ* from others. Now I bring it from myself. I fly unto your Majesty with the wings of a dove, which once within these seven days I thought would have carried me a higher flight.

When I enter into myself, I find not the materials of such a tempest as is comen upon me. I have been (as your Majesty knoweth best) never author of any immoderate counsel, but always desired to have things carried *suavibus modis*. I have been no avaricious oppressor

[1]Chamberlain to Carleton, March 24, 1621.

of the people. I have been no haughty or intolerable or hateful man, in my conversation or carriage. I have inherited no hatred from my father, but am a good patriot born. Whence should this be? For these are the things that use to raise dislikes abroad.

For the House of Commons, I began my credit there, and now it must be the place of the sepulture thereof; and yet this Parliament, upon the message touching religion, the old love revived, and they said I was the same man still, only honesty was turned into honour.

For the Upper House, even within these days before these troubles, they seemed as to take me into their arms, finding in me ingenuity which they took to be the true straight line of nobleness, without crooks or angles.

And for the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the books of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice; howsoever I may be frail and partake of the abuse of the times.

And therefore I am resolved, when I come to my answer, not to trick up my innocency (as I writ to the Lords) by cavillations or voidances, but to speak to them the language that my heart speaketh to me, in excusing, extenuating, or ingenuous confessing; praying to God to give me the grace to see to the bottom of my faults, and that no hardness of heart do steal upon me, under shew of more neatness of conscience than is cause.

But not to trouble your Majesty longer, craving pardon

for this long mourning letter; that which I thirst after as the hart after the streams, is that I may know by my matchless friend that presenteth to you this letter, your Majesty's heart (which is an *abyssus* of goodness, as I am an abyssus of misery) towards me. I have been ever your man, and counted myself but an usufructuary of myself, the property being yours: and now making myself an oblation to do with me as may best conduce to the honour of your justice, the honour of your mercy, and the use of your service, resting as clay in your Majesty's gracious hands.

Fr. St. Alban, Canc.

March 25, 1621.

Publicly, however, Bacon was capable of acting as though nothing had occurred. He continued to entertain scores of fashionable folk at Gorhambury. One afternoon, as Prince Charles was returning from hunting near that house,

he espied a coach attended with a goodly troop of horsemen, who it seems were gathered together to wait upon the chancellor to his house at Gorhambury, at the time of his declension. At which the Prince smiled: "Well, do we what we can," said he, "this man scorns to go out like a snuff." Commending his undaunted spirit and excellent parts; not without some regret that such a man should be falling off.

But at Gorhambury Bacon made his will, a brief and simple document which began:

I bequeath my soul to God above, by the oblation of my Saviour.
My body to be buried obscurely.
My name to the next ages, and to foreign nations.

He also composed a long and humble prayer, and he spent considerable time reviewing the records of cases in English history which were similar to his own.

One day as he was passing through a room where several of his domestics were sitting, upon their getting up to salute him he cried, "Sit down, my masters; your rise hath been my fall!"

He secured an audience with the King. Before it took place he drew up elaborate notes concerning exactly what he was going to say and request; but the King's manner during their conversation was cold and vague, and he referred Bacon to the House of Lords.

On the 19th of April all the committees presented their separate findings to the House of Lords. There were between thirty and forty charges of bribery

read; it was moved that the three committees meet together, attended by the King's Counsel, and combine their charges into one brief. The House then adjourned until the 24th.

When Bacon heard of the long list of charges he would seem to have considered the game no longer worth the candle. The evidence and the hostility seemed too much to fight; submission to Parliament and surrender of the Great Seal seemed the shortest way out of the matter. He wrote to the King:

It may please your Majesty,

It hath pleased God for these three days past, to visit me with such extremity of head-ach, upon the hinder part of my head, fixed in one place, that I thought verily it had been some imposthumation. And then the little physic that I have told me, that either it must grow to a congelation, and so to a lethargy, or to break, and so to a mortal fever or sudden death. Which apprehension (and chiefly the anguish of the pain) made me unable to think of any business. But now that the pain itself is assuaged to be tolerable, I resume the care of my business, and therein prostrate myself again, by my letter, at your Majesty's feet.

Your Majesty can bear me witness, that at my last so comfortable access I did not so much as move your Majesty, by your absolute power of pardon or otherwise, to

take my cause into your hands and to interpose between the sentence of the House; and according to mine own desire your Majesty left it to the sentence of the House, and so was reported by my Lord Treasurer.

But now, if . . . your Majesty will graciously save me from a sentence with the good liking of the House, and that cup may pass from me; it is the utmost of my desires.

This I move with the more belief, because I assure myself that if it be reformation that is sought, the very taking away the seal, upon my general submission, will be much in example for these four hundred years, as any furder severity.

The means of this I most humbly leave unto your Majesty. But surely I conceive, that your Majesty opening yourself in this kind to the Lords Counsellors, and a motion from the Prince after my submission, and my Lord Marquis using his interest with his friends in the House, may effect the sparing of a sentence; I making my humble suit to the House for that purpose, joined with the delivery of the seal into your Majesty's hands.

This is the last suit I shall make to your Majesty in this business, prostrating myself at your mercy-seat, after fifteen years' service, wherein I have served your Majesty in my poor endeavours with an entire heart, and as I presumed to say unto your Majesty, am still a virgin for matters that concern your person or crown; and now only craving that after eight steps of honour I be not precipitated altogether.

But because he that hath taken bribes is apt to give bribes, I will go furder, and present your Majesty with a bribe. For if your Majesty give me peace and leisure, and God give me life, I will present your Majesty with a good history of England, and a better digest of your laws. And so concluding with my prayers, I rest

Your Majesty's afflicted,
but ever devoted servant,
FR. ST. ALBAN, CANC.

21 April, 1621.

On the 24th, when the House remet after the adjournment, and was ready to hear the reports of the committees in their final form as one long and detailed brief against Bacon, Prince Charles suddenly rose. To the shocked assemblage he declared that the Lord Chancellor had sent in his submission, and proceeded to read the document which Bacon had sent, of which the following are the most important parts:

It may please your Lordships, I shall humbly crave at your Lordships' hands a benign interpretation of that which I shall now write. For words that come from wasted spirits and an oppressed mind are more safe in being deposited in a noble construction, than in being circled with any reserved caution.

This being moved, and as I hope obtained, in the nature of a protection to all that I shall say, I shall now make into the rest of that wherewith I shall at this time trouble your Lordships, a very strange entrance. For in the midst of a state of as great affliction as I think a mortal man can endure (honour being above life), I shall begin with the professing of gladness in some things.

The first is, that hereafter the greatness of a judge or magistrate shall be no sanctuary or protection of guiltiness; which, in few words, is the beginning of a golden world.

The next, that after this example, it is like that judges will fly from any thing that is in the likeness of corruption (though it were at a great distance), as from a serpent; which tendeth to the purging of the courts of justice, and the reducing them to their true honour and splendour.

And in these two points God is my witness that, though it be my fortune to be the anvil whereupon these good effects are beaten and wrought, I take no small comfort. But to pass from the motions of my heart, whereof God is only judge, to the merits of my cause, whereof your Lordships are judges, under God and his lieutenant; I do understand there hath been heretofore expected from me, some justification; and therefore I have chosen one only justification instead of all other, out of the justifications of Job. For after the clear submission and confession which I shall now make unto your Lordships, I hope I may say and justify with Job in these words: *I have not*

hid my sin as did Adam, nor conceal my faults in my bosom. This is the only justification which I will use.

It resteth therefore that, without fig-leaves, I do ingenuously confess and acknowledge, that having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally from the House, but enough to inform my conscience and memory, I find matter sufficient and full, both to move me to desert the defence, and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me.

Neither will I prompt your Lordships to observe upon the proofs, where they come not home, or the scruples touching the credits of the witnesses. Neither will I represent unto your Lordships, how far a defence might in divers things extenuate the offence, in respect of the time or manner of the gift, or the like circumstances, but only leave these things to spring out of your own noble thoughts, and observations of the evidence and examinations themselves; and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge here and there, as God shall put into your mind; and so submit myself wholly to your piety and grace.

My humble desire is, that his Majesty would take the seal into his hands, which is a great downfall, and may serve I hope in itself for an expiation of my faults.

Therefore, if mercy and mitigation be in your power, and do no ways cross your ends, why should I not hope of your Lordships' favour and commiseration?

Neither will your Lordships forget that there are *vitia temporis* as well as *vitia hominis,* and that the beginning

of reformations hath the contrary power of the pool of Bethesda, for that had strength to cure only him that was first cast in, and this hath commonly strength to hurt him only that is first cast in. And for my part, I wish it may stay there, and go no further.

Lastly, I assure myself, your Lordships have a noble feeling of me, as a member of your own body, and one that in this very session had some taste of your loving affections; which I hope was not a lightning before the death of them, but rather a spark of that grace which now in the conclusion will more appear.

And therefore my humble suit to your Lordships is, that my penitent submission may be my sentence, and the loss of the seal my punishment; and that your Lordships will spare any further sentence, but recommend me to his Majesty's grace and pardon for all that is past. God's holy Spirit be amongst you.

Your Lordships' humble
servant and suppliant,
FR. ST. ALBAN, CANC.

April 22, 1621.

The Lords were amazed. They had imagined that Bacon would deny or contest the charges. "No Lord spoke, after it had been read, for a long time."

But a discussion arose as to what Bacon might mean by "submission," and it was moved to send him a let-

ter asking for enlightenment in this matter. The letter was sent, and Bacon replied:

"The Lord Chancellor will make no manner of defense to the charge, but meaneth to acknowledge corruption, and to make a particular confession to every point, and after that an humble submission.

"But humbly craves liberty, that where the charge is more full than he finds the truth of the fact, he may make declaration of the truth in such particulars; the charge being brief, and containing not all circumstances."

Bacon's illness caused the Lords to decide that the detailed confession in writing would be sufficient. Five days later it was in their hands, and at the end of it Bacon had written:

. . . This declaration I have made to your Lordships with a sincere mind; humbly craving that, if there should be any mistaking, your Lordships would impute it to want of memory, and not to any desire of mine to obscure truth, or palliate any thing; for I do again confess, that in the points charged upon me, although they should be taken as myself have declared them, there is a great deal of corruption and neglect; for which I am heartily and penitently sorry, and submit myself to the judgment, grace, and mercy of the court.

For extenuation, I will use none concerning the matters themselves; only it may please your Lordships, out of your nobleness, to cast your eyes of compassion upon my person and estate. I was never noted for an avaricious man. And the Apostle saith, that covetousness is the root of all evil. I hope also that your Lordships do the rather find me in the state of grace, for that in all these particulars there are few or none that are not almost two years old; whereas those that have an habit of corruption do commonly wax worse and worse; so that it hath pleased God to prepare me, by precedent degrees of amendment, to my present penitency. And for my estate, it is so mean and poor, as my care is now chiefly to satisfy my debts. And so, fearing I have troubled your Lordships too long, I shall conclude with an humble suit unto you, That if your Lordships proceed to sentence, your sentence may not be heavy to my ruin, but gracious, and mixt with mercy; and not only so, but that you would be noble intercessors for me to his Majesty likewise, for his grace and favour.

Your Lordships' humble servant and suppliant,

Fr. St. Alban, Canc.

After the confession had been received it was deemed essential to the law that Bacon be confronted by at least some of his judges. For, shut in his house by illness, he had seen none of those who had tried him. A committee of twelve visited him and courteously

asked him if his signature was genuine and his mind the same. He replied, "My Lords, it is my act, my hand, my heart. I beseech your Lordship be merciful to a broken reed."

It was then necessary to take from him the Great Seal of England. The three gentlemen who waited upon him, to sequester it, found him ill. They wished that "it had been better with him"; whereupon Bacon: "The worse the better. By the King's great favour I received the Great Seal; by my own great fault I have lost it."

The Lords next proceeded to Bacon's punishment. Some did not hesitate to cite cases where judges had been hanged for bribery. But "His offences are foul," said Lord Arundel, "his confession pitiful. Life not to be touched." The Earl of Southampton, whom twenty years before Bacon had helped to involve in Essex's ruin, urged that he should be degraded from the peerage. And he demanded whether, at any rate, "he whom this House thinks unfit to be a constable shall come to the Parliament." Others held that Bacon should be banished the kingdom. Buckingham urged mercy: "The Lord Chancellor is so sick that he cannot live long," he said.

It was finally determined that Bacon was to be fined forty thousand pounds. He was to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure. He was to be forever incapable of any office, place, or employment in the state or commonwealth. And he was never to sit in Parliament or come "within the verge of the court," which meant that he was banished from London.

Thomas Bushell, a young gentleman of fortune and one of Bacon's secretaries, hurried to York House with the news of the sentence and told how he still remained Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, for all the bishops had voted against degrading him from the peerage. The severity of the remaining sentence seemed to cause Bacon little grief: "I am saved, thanks to my clergy!" he cried thankfully. And he remarked later, "I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years. But it was the justest censure in Parliament that was these two hundred years."

CHAPTER X

THE fact that Francis Bacon lived for only five years after his fall from power has caused many to say that the disgrace killed him. It is possible that Bacon was much downcast by his fall; there is, however, little evidence for saying so. He did much of his best work during the last five years.

Bacon was sentenced to be imprisoned in the Tower "during the King's pleasure." He was conducted to that prison on May 31st; he immediately wrote a letter to Buckingham, demanding, in no uncertain terms:

GOOD MY LORD:

Procure the warrant for my discharge this day. Death, I thank God, is so far from being unwelcome to me, as I have called for it (as Christian resolution would permit) any time these two months. But to die before the time of his Majesty's grace, and in this disgraceful place, is even

the worst that could be; and when I am dead, he is gone that was always in one tenor, a true and perfect servant to his master, and one that was never author of any immoderate, no, nor unsafe, no (I will say it) nor unfortunate counsel; and one that no temptation could ever make other than a trusty, and honest, and thrice loving friend to your Lordship; and howsoever I acknowledge the sentence just, and for reformation sake fit, the justest Chancellor that hath been in the five changes since Sir Nicholas Bacon's time. God bless and prosper your Lordship, whatsoever become of me.

Your Lordship's true friend, living and dying,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

Tower, 31st May, 1621.

After three days he was released, and the following letter to Buckingham would scarcely seem to indicate a crushed spirit:

MY VERY GOOD LORD:

I heartily thank your Lordship for getting me out of prison, and now my body is out, my mind nevertheless will be still in prison, till I may be on my feet to do his Majesty and your Lordship faithful service. Wherein your Lordship, by the grace of God, shall find that my adversity hath neither spent nor pent my spirits. God prosper you.

Your Lordship's most obliged
friend and faithful servant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

And he wrote a letter of thanks to the King, saying:

"Let me live to serve you, else life is but the shadow of death to your Majesty's most devoted servant, Fr. St. Alban."

And in another letter to Buckingham he said:

I hope his Majesty may reap honour out of my adversity, as he hath done strength out of my prosperity. His Majesty knows best his own ways, and for me to despair of him were a sin not to be forgiven. I thank God I have overcome the bitterness of this cup by Christian resolution, so that worldly matters are but mint and cumin.

A few days after his release from the Tower he moved to Gorhambury, where, considering the terms of the sentence, it would be imagined that he would spend the remainder of his life. He looked forward, evidently with anticipation, to immersing himself in literary and scientific pursuits.

Tobie Matthew had written to him, well sympathizing with him in his troubles, and Bacon replied:

SIR:

I have been too long a debtor to you for a letter, and especially for such a letter, the words whereof were delivered by your hand, as if it had been in old gold. For it was not possible for entire affection to be more generously

and effectually expressed. I can but return thanks to you; or rather indeed such an answer as may better be of thoughts than words.

As for that which may concern myself, I hope God hath ordained me some small time, whereby I may redeem the loss of much. Your company was ever of contentment to me, and your absence of grief; but now it is of grief upon grief. I beseech you therefore make haste hither, where you shall meet with as good a welcome as your own heart can wish. . . .

For Tobie Matthew was coming to England once more. James desired, above most other things, reconciliation with Spain, and great plans were in the air concerning a Spanish bride for Prince Charles. It was decided to send Buckingham and the Prince to Madrid, and there should go with them someone who was familiar with the Spanish affairs. Matthew's name was mentioned; James sent for him at once, and on December 28, 1621, he landed in England. He went at once to York House to visit Lady Bacon, and within a few days journeyed to Gorhambury to visit his fallen friend.

York House, which Bacon had been forced to abandon, and in which his wife was living, was one of the finest and most beautiful residences in London.

Buckingham admired its luxurious appointments and its gardens, and as soon as Bacon arrived at Gorhambury he asked him to sell him York House. Bacon, however, hoped that he might, in time, secure a cancellation of that part of the sentence which related to his place of residence. Buckingham's request intimated that such a possibility was out of the question. But even so Bacon declined to give up his town house. We may imagine him writing to Buckingham, as he said to another would-be purchaser:

> York House is the house where my father died, and where I first breathed, and there will I yield my last breath if it so please God, and the King will give me leave; though I be now, in the house, (as the old proverb is) like a bear in a monk's hood.

He soon discovered, also, that his scientific work was hampered by his banishment from the city, through the lack of materials and references. He therefore wrote to the King, after being in Gorhambury but a month:

> . . . Demosthenes was banished for bribery of the highest nature, yet was recalled with honour; Marcus Livius

was condemned for exactions, yet afterwards made consul and censor. Seneca, banished for divers corruptions, yet was afterwards restored. This, if it please your Majesty, I do not say for appetite of employment, but for hope that if I do by myself as is fit, your Majesty will never suffer me to die in want or dishonour.

The reply to this letter was a license to stay in London for six weeks, "for the settling of your estate and taking order for your debts." Bacon also obtained favorable action concerning his fine of forty thousand pounds. It was not remitted, but it was assigned[1] to certain of his creditors who were in favor at Court. And on the 12th of October the King sent to the attorney general his recommendation that Bacon be given a full and complete pardon. The pardon was not granted at this time—sentiment was against it, and the King refrained from pressing an unpopular act.

Buckingham wrote to Bacon, enclosing the royal

[1]That is, Bacon owed many bills, and was commanded to pay off, to the extent of forty thousand pounds, the bills of the assignees first; his governmental fine was turned into preferred debts, which was considered to lessen the disgrace. For despite all the gifts from suitors, Bacon's extravagance had kept him in debt.

recommendation for a pardon, and concerning an extension of his time in London:

I send your Lordship his Majesty's warrant for your pardon, as you desired it; but am sorry that in the current of my service to your Lordship there should be the least stop of anything; yet having moved his Majesty upon your servant's intimation, for your stay in London till Christmas, I found his Majesty, who hath in all other occasions, and even in that particular already, to the dislike of many of your own friends, showed with great forwardness his gracious favour towards you, very unwilling to grant you any longer liberty to abide there; which, being but a small advantage to you, would be a great and general distaste, as you cannot but easily conceive, to the whole state.

In the same letter Buckingham says, with cold politeness, that he would not think of taking York House if it was of the slightest inconvenience for Bacon to give it up. It has been supposed that the lack of aid in Buckingham's letter was not unconnected with Bacon's lack of aid regarding York House.

Bacon would seem to have thought the same. He determined to offer to Buckingham, through his friend Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, the entire man-

sion and estate of Gorhambury. He wrote to Tobie Matthew of this plan:

Good Mr. Matthew:

In this solitude of friends, which is the Base-Court of Adversity, where almost no body will be seen stirring, I have often remembered a saying of my Lord Ambassador of Spain, *Amor sin fin no tiene fin.* This moveth me to make choice of his excellent Lordship for his noble succours towards not the aspiring, but the respiring of my fortunes.

I that am a man of books, have observed his Lordship to have the magnanimity of his own nation and the cordiality of ours; and by this time I think he hath the wit of both. Sure I am that for myself I have found him, in both my fortunes, to esteem me so much above value, and to love me so much above possibility of deserving or obliging on my part, as if he were a friend reserved for such a time as this. I have known his Lordship likewise (while I stood on a stand where I might look about) a most faithful and respective friend to my Lord Marquis; who next to the King and the Prince was my raiser, and must be (he or none) I do not say my restorer, but my reliever.

I have (as I made you acquainted at your being with me) a purpose to present my Lord Marquis with an offer of my house and lands here at Gorhambury, a thing which, as it is the best means I have now left to demonstrate my affection to his Lordship, so I hope it will be ac-

ceptable to him. This proposition I desire to put into no other hands but my Lord Ambassador's; as judging his hand to be the safest, the most honourable, and the most effectual for my good, if my Lord will be pleased to deal in it. And when I had thus resolved, I never sought nor thought of any man but yourself, being so private, faithful and discreet a friend to us both. I desire you therefore (good Mr. Matthew) to acquaint my Lord Ambassador with this overture; and both to use yourself, and desire at his Lordship's hands secrecy therein; and withal to let his Lordship know that in this business whatsoever in particular you shall treat with him, I shall not fail in all points to make good and perform.

Commend my humble service to his Lordship. I ever rest.

Your most affectionate and assured friend,

Fr. St. Alban.

It was Gorhambury upon the adornment of which Bacon had spent so much taste, thought, effort, and expense, and of whose woods and gardens he was so excessively fond. He seems to have considered, however, that it would be worth the loss of Gorhambury to be able to move to London. But Buckingham refused to accept Gorhambury. He realized that Bacon's great impatience to come back to London

would result in York House falling to him, if he waited sufficiently long.

In November Bacon addressed a petition to the House of Lords:

MY RIGHT HONOURABLE VERY GOOD LORDS:

In all humbleness, acknowledging your Lordships' justice, I do now in like manner crave and implore your grace and compassion. I am old, weak, ruined, in want; a very subject of pity. My only suit to your Lordships is, to show me your noble favour towards the release of my confinement . . . worse than the Tower. There I could have had company, physicians, conference with my creditors and friends about my debts, and the necessities of my estate, helps for my studies and the writings I have in mind. Here I live upon the swordpoint of a sharp air, endangered if I go abroad, dulled if I stay within, solitary and comfortless without company, banished from all opportunities to treat with any to do myself good, and to help out any wrecks; and that, which is one of my greatest griefs, my wife, that hath been no partaker of my offending, must be a partaker of this misery of my restraint. . . .

Herein your Lordships shall do a work of charity and nobility; you shall do me good; you shall do my creditors good; and, it may be, you shall do posterity good, if out of the carcass of dead and rotten greatness, as out of Samson's lion, there may be honey gathered for the use of future times. . . .

But Parliament had adjourned before this petition reached it, and Bacon, straining desperately at the dullness of the country in November, finally decided to give up York House. What was his amazement to discover that Buckingham no longer wanted it! "I have found another house," said the Duke, "which suits me as well." But he proceeded to act in a low manner, and let Bacon know through a friend that the price of his liberty to live in London would be the cession of York House—not to Buckingham, but to Lionel Cranfield, the man who had done most to cause Bacon's fall![1]

But Bacon resigned himself to give up the house to anyone who wanted it as long as he could then come into town. As soon as Cranfield received the deed to York House, however, he turned it over to Buckingham; it was thus evident that the Duke, through anger and meanness, had extracted Bacon's house from him in the most disagreeable manner possible. Bacon's removal into London was complicated by his wife's trouble in finding a suitable house. It was at Gorhambury, therefore, in 1621–1622, that he com-

[1]Cranfield had just been created Baron Cranfield of Cranfield, and needed a suitable town residence.

posed, completed, and had published that rarely fine work, his first publication since his fall, *The History of the Reign of King Henry VII.*

As early as 1606 Bacon had written to the then Lord Chancellor, suggesting that he be commissioned to write a history of England. He declared that he had been inspired to that desire by James's act of erecting a monument to the memory of Elizabeth, but his suggestion was not acted upon.

But immediately after his sentence Bacon decided to write a history of England from the Union of the Roses to the Union of the Kingdoms. The first lap in this work was a history of the reign of King Henry VII. It was composed under great difficulties, for Bacon was out in the country away from the documents in London. His friend Robert Cotton the antiquary aided him.

In March Sir Thomas Meautys wrote to Bacon that the books were bound and awaiting publication, but the Bishop of London interposed a stay on their appearance. The question had arisen whether anyone who was forbidden to come into London might legally publish in London. The situation was deliberated, but on March 30th the book was on sale.

The book was dedicated to Prince Charles in a dedication strangely different from the usual flowery and humble dedications of the time.
With the King's copy Bacon sent a letter:

. . . But my desire is farther, if it stand with your Majesty's good pleasure (since now my study is my exchange, and my pen my factor, for the use of my talent); that your Majesty (who is a great master in these things) would be pleased to appoint me some task to write, and that I shall take for an oracle. And because my *Instauration* (which I esteem my great work, and do still go on with silently) was dedicated to your Majesty; and this *History of King Henry VII* to your lively and excellent image the Prince; if now your Majesty will be pleased to give me a theme to dedicate to my Lord of Buckingham, whom I have so much reason to honour, I should with more alacrity embrace your Majesty's direction than my own choice. God evermore preserve and prosper you.
Your Majesty's poor beadsman and most devoted,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

Gorham. 20 March, 1622.

Bacon also sent a copy of the history with a letter to James's daughter, now Queen of Bohemia:

I have read in books that it is accounted a great bliss for a man to have *Leisure with Honour*. That was never my

fortune. For time was, I had *Honour with Leisure;* and now I have *Leisure without Honour.* . . . But my desire is now to have *Leisure without Loitering,* and not to become an abbey-lubber, as the old proverb was, but to yield some fruit of my private life. . . . If King Henry were alive again, I hope verily he would not be so angry with me for not flattering him, as well pleased in seeing himself so truly described in colours that will last and be believed.

And indeed the book is an excellent biography; it has been called "Strachey in the King James version." The subject was excellent in itself; the reign of Henry VII abounded in fascinating situations, characters, events, and accomplishments. To this material Bacon gave all the vigor of his thought; characters, situations, and motives are keenly analyzed; politics exposed. Above all the turbulent crowd of dukes and earls, rebels and impostors, stands the figure of King Henry himself; from his first appearance on Bosworth Field to his burial in his chapel in the Abbey, the reader follows the career of a man "truly described in colours that will last and be believed."

It is significant that Voltaire castigated the language of the history as bombastic, just as Rémusat sneered

at the profuse and luxuriant taste of the gardens at Gorhambury. Bacon's language is rarely to the French taste; and certainly in this book it reaches the heights of fine English exuberance. Despite its often unflattering portrait of King Henry, the book was so pleasing to Prince Charles that later, when he was king himself, he asked Bacon to proceed with the life of Henry VIII. This, however, was left for others.

Meanwhile permission had been granted him to come to London, and we soon hear of him spending much time in his old lodgings in Gray's Inn. This fulfilled the prophecy of one of his old friends at the inn who, "seeing him go thence in pomp, with the Great Seal before him, said to divers of his friends, 'We shall live to have him here again.' "

His spirits seemed no less jovial than before. "He has," wrote Chamberlain, "no manner of feeling of his fall, but continuing vain and idle in all his humours as when he was at the highest." And Bacon himself wrote to a friend, "I am said to have a feather in my head."

Although much of his sentence had been removed, he was still not satisfied. His constant letters to Buck-

ingham on this point make it clear that the duke had, at the time of his fall, promised him three things: complete pardon, some aid with his debts, and a pension. What Bacon wanted now, in addition to money, was permission to be not only in London, but at court. Buckingham kept promising this to him. Bacon made frequent notes in his journal in preparation for a much desired interview with the King.

Finally, on the 13th of November, 1622, Buckingham wrote to Bacon from Newmarket, where the court then was:

> My Lord: I have despatched the business your Lordship recommended to me, which I send your Lordship here enclosed, signed by his Majesty . . . and have likewise moved him for your coming to kiss his hand, which he is pleased you should do at Whitehall, when he returneth next thither.

This audience took place quite soon, and on January 19th of the next year he was awarded a grant of all the arrears due him by his former letters of patent, and also an annuity of twelve hundred pounds a year for twelve years.

During all this time Bacon was busy with his experimenting. It was his plan, now that he was working

on the great *Natural History*, to publish it in six installments, at the rate of one a month. In November, 1622, he published the first installment, a "History of the Winds." But it was not until January that the next installment appeared, and those were the only two of the projected six to be published.

In October, 1623, he published *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, an enlarged and altered version of the *Advancement of Learning*, translated into Latin for the benefit of the Continent and posterity.[1] He sent copies to the King, the Prince, Buckingham, and to the libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Bacon went over this book with great care, censoring it for Continental circulation; it was, however, placed by the Vatican on the index of forbidden books.

In May Tobie Matthew had gone to Spain with Prince Charles, Buckingham, and Gondomar. Through the summer and early fall Bacon wrote to him at Madrid, recommending himself to all. The

[1] In a letter to Sir Tobie Matthew, Bacon once wrote, "These modern languages will at one time or another play the bankrowte with books, and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad if God would give me leave to recover it with posterity."

project of the Spanish match failed, and on October 23d Matthew was knighted for his services.

About this time Lionel Cranfield was created Earl of Middlesex and was at the height of his career. But almost immediately mutterings were heard against him, and rumors that he was corrupt in his business. Bacon, meeting him soon after his creation as earl, offered him compliments so very extreme as to be ironic, and as they parted said softly, "Remember, a Parliament will come."

And indeed in the Parliament of February, 1624, Cranfield was found guilty of mismanagement, bribery, and misconduct; he received a sentence even huger than Bacon's.[1]

At the time Cranfield was sentenced Bacon (whose health rarely lasted a winter) was ill in Gray's Inn.

[1] A contemporary anecdote declares that "a flattering courtier undertook to make a comparison betwixt my Lord St. Alban and Treasurer Cranfield. Said he, 'My Lord St. Alban had a pretty turning wit, and could speak well; but he wanted that profound judgment and solidity of a statesman that my Lord of Middlesex hath.' Said a courtier that stood by: 'Sir, I wonder you will disparage your judgment so much as to offer any parallel betwixt these two. I'll tell you what; when these two men shall be recorded in our chronicles to after ages, men will wonder how my Lord St. Alban could fall, and they will wonder how my Lord of Middlesex could rise.' "

He saw much of his friend George Herbert, and together they discussed divinity and translated several of the Psalms into English verse.

And about this time occasion arose for Bacon to write the following letter to "Mr. Secretary Conway":

GOOD MR. SECRETARY:

When you did me the honour and favour to visit me, you did not only in general terms express your love unto me, but as a real friend asked me whether I had any particular occasion wherein I might make use of you. At that time I had none: now there is one fallen. It is, that Mr. Thomas Murray, Provost of Eton (whom I love very well), is like to die. It were a pretty cell for my fortune. The college and school I do not doubt but I shall make to flourish. His Majesty, when I waited on him, took notice of my wants, and said to me that as he was a King he would have care of me. This is a thing somebody would have, and costs his Majesty nothing. I have written two or three words to his Majesty, which I would pray you to deliver. I have not expressed this particular to his Majesty, but referred it to your relation. My most noble friend the Marquis is now absent. Next to him I could not think of a better address than to yourself, as one likest to put on his affection. I rest

Your Honour's very affectionate friend,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

Gray's Inn, the 25th of March, 1623.

Mr. Secretary Conway did what he could, and was able to assure Bacon that James held him "in good opinion, and princely care and respect," but the provostship had been promised to someone else.

By now almost every part of Bacon's sentence had been forgiven him. All that remained to be secured was permission to hold office and to sit in Parliament. And what Bacon wanted now was a full pardon—not a mere forgiveness of the sentence, but a complete expunging from the records that the sentence had ever been passed at all—an act which might redeem his name with future ages. During the summer of 1624 he thought the time had come for this final restoration of his privileges, and on the 30th of July he wrote to the King:

MOST GRACIOUS AND DREAD SOVEREIGN:

Before I make my petition to your Majesty, I make my prayers to God above, *pectore ab imo*, that if I have held anything so dear as your Majesty's service, nay your heart's ease, and your honour's, I may be repulsed with a denial. But if that hath been the principal with me, that God, who knoweth my heart, would move your Majesty's royal heart to take compassion of me and to grant my desire.

I prostrate myself at your Majesty's feet; I, your ancient

servant, now sixty-four years old in age, and three years five months old in misery. I desire not from your Majesty means, nor place, nor employment, but only, after so long a time of expiation, a complete and total remission of the sentence of the Upper House, to the end that blot of ignominy may be removed from me, and from my memory with posterity; that I die not a condemned man, but may be to your Majesty, as I am to God, *nova creatura.* Your Majesty hath pardoned the like to Sir John Bennet, between whose case and mine (not being partial to myself, but speaking out of the general opinion) there was as much difference, I will not say as between black and white, but as between black and grey, or ash-coloured. Look therefore down, dear Sovereign, upon me also in pity. I know your Majesty's heart is inscrutable for goodness; and my Lord of Buckingham was wont to tell me you were the best natured man in the world; and it is God's property, that *those he hath loved, he loveth to the end.* Let your Majesty's grace, in this my desire, stream down upon me, and let it be out of the fountain and spring-head, and *ex mero motu,* that, living or dying, the print of the goodness of King James may be in my heart, and his praises in my mouth. This my most humble request granted, may make me live a year or two happily; and denied, will kill me quickly. But yet the last thing that will die in me, will be the heart and affection of

Your Majesty's most humble,
and true devoted servant,
FR. ST. ALBAN.

This not uneloquent request was completely effective. The King ordered the attorney general to prepare for his signature "a bill containing a pardon, in due form of law, of the whole sentence."

Bacon was now *nova creatura,* but his personal habits remained as they were before. He continued to live in a manner extravagant for his lower position. He was never out of debt, but when someone offered to buy from him the magnificent woods surrounding Gorhambury he refused to part with them, saying, "I will not be stripped of my feathers." His expenditures on his experimenting were huge.

In March, 1625, James died. Bacon wrote to Charles that "he hoped, as the Father had been his Creator, the Son would be his Redeemer." In June of this year Bacon was summoned to Charles's first parliament, but was too ill to attend.

The year 1625 was a prolific one. He kept busy at his experiments for the *Natural History,* he published a final revision of his *Essays,* and composed his book of jests.

The 1625 edition of the *Essays* is that most commonly read at present. In this edition, however, several entirely new essays appeared. It is interesting

to examine these, and thus to see the trend of Bacon's thought in his last year of life.[1] The very titles of these last essays indicate how they sprang from his career or from the times. "Of Truth," "Of Revenge," "Of Adversity," "Of Envy," "Of Boldness (in Civil Business)," "Of Delays," "Of Suspicion," "Of Prophecies," "Of Masques and Triumphs," "Of Building," "Of Gardens," "Of Vicissitudes of Things"—all contain sentences which would never have been written but for the events which we have described in the last few chapters of this book. In this volume appeared the new and much expanded version of his essay on "Friendship," which he had promised to Tobie Matthew just before the latter's departure for the Spanish court. The disastrous end of the Virginia Company in 1621 must have inspired the essay "On Plantations." Bacon's intelligence was at its keenest, and his experience at its most valuable, in this volume.[2]

[1]Many of the older essays were much revised for this new edition; thus these revisions also indicate the later workings of the author's intelligence.

[2]Bacon's essays on "Dispatch," "Delays," "Expenses and Cunning" are included in a recent collection of hints for young business men, which also includes "How to Win a Fortune," by "A. Carnegie."

Bacon's health was becoming more intermittent than ever before. At times he was prevented from pursuing his experiments and was confined to his bed. On these occasions he usually read; but at one time he called one of his secretaries and dictated to him (it is said entirely from memory and without interruption) a collection of jests, or *Apophthegms.* Many of these are excellent; the preface is interesting:

Julius Cæsar did write a collection of apophthegms, as appears in an epistle of Cicero. I need say no more for the worth of a writing of that nature. It is a pity his book is lost; for I imagine they were collected with judgment and choice, whereas that of Plutarch and Stobæus, and much more the modern ones, draw much of the dregs. Certainly they are of excellent use; they are *Macrones Verborum,* pointed speeches. Cicero prettily calls them *salinces,* salt pits, that you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it where you will. They serve to be interlaced in continued speech: they serve to be recited upon occasion of themselves: they serve, if you take the kernel of them, and make them your own. I have for my recreation in my sickness fanned the old; not omitting any because they are vulgar (for many vulgar ones are excellent good), nor for the meanness of the person, but because they are dull and flat, and added many new that otherwise would have died.

That preface is, actually, an essay "On Jests"; few of the essays are more revealing of the author.

The winter of 1625–1626 was a most dismal season; the cold was unusually intense, and London was so stricken with an epidemic of the plague that Bacon remained at Gorhambury. There he busied himself as usual with his experiments, assisted by his faithful but not exceedingly scientific chaplain, Dr. Rawley. In February Parliament was called and Bacon was summoned as a peer of the realm, but again he was too ill to attend.

In the spring, early in April, considering that the air was warm although the ground was still covered with snow, he set out in a coach for his chambers in Gray's Inn. As he looked at the snow an experiment occurred to him; it seemed an excellent opportunity to discover whether or not flesh could be preserved by cold as well as by salt. He stopped his coach upon Highgate Hill, descended, purchased a fowl from an old dame in a near-by cottage, had it killed, and stuffed it with snow. Almost immediately the slight exposure affected his feeble body; he was taken with a chill, and was forced to seek shelter in the nearest

house. It happened to be that of Lord Arundel, who was not at home. His housekeeper, however, made Bacon welcome. He was put to bed at once. His chill became bronchitis and grew steadily worse. He did not realize that his condition was serious, and he dictated the following letter to his absent host:

To the Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

MY VERY GOOD LORD:

I was likely to have had the fortune of Caius Plinius the elder, who lost his life by trying an experiment about the burning of the mount Vesuvius: for I was also desirous to try an experiment or two touching the conservation and induration of bodies. As for the experiment itself, it succeeded excellently well; but in the journey, between London and Highgate, I was taken with such a fit of casting, as I knew not whether it were the stone, or some surfeit, or a cold, or indeed a touch of them all three. But when I came to your Lordship's house, I was not able to go back, and therefore was forced to take up my lodging here, where your house-keeper is very careful and diligent about me; which I assure myself your lordship will not only pardon towards him, but think the better of him for it. For indeed your Lordship's house was happy to me; and I kiss your noble hands for the welcome which I am sure you give me to it. . . .

I know how unfit it is for me to write to your Lordship with any other hand than my own; but by my troth

my fingers are so disjointed with this fit of sickness, that I cannot steadily hold a pen.

Francis Bacon sank quickly; on the 9th of April, 1626, he died in the arms of his friend Sir Julius Cæsar. In obedience to the terms of his will, his funeral was without pomp; his body was transported to the Church of St. Michael, near St. Albans, and deposited in a tomb near that of his mother. Among those who followed his remains to the grave was his old disciple, Sir Thomas Hobbes.

His will directed that his works, both Latin and English, fairly bound, be placed in the King's library, and in the libraries of the University of Cambridge, Trinity College, Bennet College, the University of Oxford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Eton. There were many bequests to the poor about Gorhambury, and legacies of jewels and money to his friends. His personal belongings he left to his servants. It would seem that his wife had offended him shortly before his death; in a codicil he had merely canceled his bequests to her.

He directed that all his estates be sold to pay his debts, and that from the remainder two lectureships at the universities be endowed, for "natural philoso-

phy." But so huge was his indebtedness, much of which dated back for many years, that the sale of the property brought in but half of the sum of the debts. Bacon's large library has disappeared almost as completely as the glories of Gorhambury; it is seldom that a book which belonged to him is seen. His chaplain, Dr. Rawley, published his "Remains," and wrote a brief life of his master; and Sir Thomas Meautys, one of those gay youths who had maintained his own coach in the days of Bacon's wealth, erected by the tomb a monument of white marble to the memory of his master, which represented the statesman and philosopher as seated, "in the attitude of travail."

APPENDIX

I

The Grand Instauration of the Sciences opens with a brief essay called the "Sic Cogitavit." This is a short announcement of the necessity of trying a new method of investigating nature and Bacon's motives for attempting it.

The next part is the "Præfatio" or Preface to the entire *Instauration.* It discusses the state of the sciences, discovers their pitifully low condition, and shows that a different method of investigation must be opened, and other aids procured, in order to advance them.

Then follow the six main parts of the *Instauration:*

I. *Partitionis Scientiarum—The Partition of the Sciences.*

This first part is a survey of all the learning at that time possessed, in order to improve the

learning of the ancients as well as to introduce what is new. This first part was entirely completed, and published in 1605 under the title of *The Advancement of Learning.*

Between parts one and two Bacon inserted a brief essay which contained a list or recapitulation of the deficiencies of knowledge noted in the eighth book of the *Advancement of Learning.*

II. *Novum Organum, sive Indicia de Interpretatione Naturæ—The New Organ, or Directions for the Interpretation of Nature.*

This part, which was entirely completed, was boldly designed to take the place of Aristotle's *Organon,* whence its title is derived. It concerns the better and more perfect use of the reason in the investigation of *things;* and proclaims the end of the new logic to be not arguments, but arts. The *Novum Organum* was published in 1620.

III. *Phænomena Universi, sive Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis ad condendam Philosophiam—The Phenomena of the World, or Natural and*

Experimental History for the building up of Philosophy.

This part was to contain the materials upon which Bacon was to build his method. It was only partially completed, as follows:

1. *Sylva Sylvarum,* or *Natural History.* This work, consisting of a thousand experiments, was published after Bacon's death. Many of the experiments were made by his assistants, and from them Bacon would have chosen those which were important. As it stands, this collection of experiments contains many which are valueless.
2. Out of six "histories" which Bacon planned to write at the rate of one a month, to be included in this part, only three were completed: "A History of Winds," "A History of Rarity and Density," and "A History of Life and Death." We have only the fragments of the other three: "A History of Gravity and Levity," "A History of

Sympathies and Antipathies of Things," and "A History of Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt."

3. Also to be included in Part III are various small pamphlets, such as "Questions Concerning Metals," "Preface to a Natural History," etc.

IV. *Scala Intellectus—Ladder of the Understanding.*

None of this part was written. It was to have been a treatise in "mental philosophy," such as Locke's "Essay Concerning the Human Understanding," an exposition of the mental process of invention itself, by illustrating the steps and progress of the mind in ascending from particular to general truths, from phenomena to axioms.

V. *Prodromi, sive Anticipationes Philosophæ Secundæ—The Forerunners, or Anticipations of the New Philosophy.*

None of this part was written, nor is it clear exactly what it was to have been. But possibly

it would have been a statement of probabilities, an intuitional introduction, as it were, to the next and last part.

VI. *Philosophia Secunda, sive Scientia Activa—The New Philosophy, or Active Science.*

This part, had it been written, would have been the grand result of all the rest; the philosophy educed and constituted out of such a legitimate, pure, and strict inquiry as that already recommended and prepared. With it the *Grand Instauration of the Sciences* would have been realized.

This plan of the *Grand Instauration* includes all of Bacon's philosophical writings (of which many are so fragmentary as not to have been mentioned) except two:

1. *The Wisdom of the Ancients.* An attempt to deliver the supposed philosophy contained in the ancient myths and fables, especially intended to propitiate the lovers of antiquity toward Bacon's meditated innovations.
2. *The New Atlantis.*

II

Since the middle of the Nineteenth Century many persons have claimed that William Shakespeare did not write the plays and poems which are attributed to him. Some claim that Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, wrote them; and some that their author was Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford. Others claim the honor for Lord Rutland. By far the greater number, however, insist that Francis Bacon was the author. And many claim that Bacon wrote not only the plays of Shakespeare, but also many other works which are ascribed to other authors. It would seem fitting that a biography of Bacon at least mention the claims of the "Baconians"; the most convenient manner to discuss the question is in the form of a bibliography. The matter did not arise until the middle of the last century.

1856 An unsigned article (written by Mrs. Delia Bacon) appeared in *Putnam's Magazine*. It declared it quite likely that Bacon wrote the Shakespeare plays and intimated that the author was engaged in gathering proof for that statement.

1857 *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded,* by Mrs. Delia Bacon, with a preface by Nathaniel Hawthorne. This lengthy, confused, and incoherent book stated that the author had discovered ciphers in the Shakespeare plays which revealed Bacon as their author. Mrs. Bacon also considered that she proved, by exhibiting what she thought "parallel passages" from Bacon's known works and the Shakespeare plays, that the philosophy put forward in the plays was that contained in Bacon's philosophical works.

1857 *Bacon and Shakespeare, an inquiry touching players, playhouses and play-writers in the days of Elizabeth,* by William Henry Smith. Mr. Smith denied intending to claim the authorship of the plays for Bacon, but he proceeded to list phrases in Shakespeare which are similar to phrases in Bacon, and discussed whether or not a person of Bacon's education was not more able to write the plays than one as untutored as Shakespeare.

1866 *The Authorship of Shakespeare,* by Nathaniel Holmes. Mr. Holmes was a disciple of Mrs.

Bacon's, and to her arguments he appended a list of reasons for Bacon's desire to conceal his name.

1875 *Bacon vs. Shakespeare. A Plea for the Defendant,* by Thomas D. King. This is an incoherent attack against the above Mr. Holmes and a defense of "noble Shakespeare." Among those who take part in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, the defenders of Shakespeare are usually as weak as the champions of Bacon are incoherent or fantastic.

1883 Mrs. Henry Pott published one of Bacon's manuscript memoranda, the "Promus of Formularies and Elegancies," and illustrated it by passages from Shakespeare, to indicate similarities of phrase.

1885 *Bacon and Shakespeare,* by William Henry Burr. This book declared that Shakespeare was unable to write, and that the Sonnets were written by Francis Bacon to the Earl of Essex and his bride.

1887 *Bacon and Shakespeare in the Sonnets,* by H. L. Hosmer. Mr. Hosmer declared that only Bacon could have written the Sonnets, so ex-

act was the legal phraseology. He then revealed the story told in the Sonnets, by means of a key which he invented himself.

1888 This was the most prolific year in the controversy.

Mr. Ignatius Donnelly published his large volume entitled *The Great Cryptogram.* He discovered in the plays a cipher which related Bacon's story of his authorship of the plays, the manner in which he concealed that fact, etc.

Mr. J. Gilpin Pyle published his satirical *The Little Cryptogram,* or *A Literal Application to the Play of Hamlet of the Cipher System of Mr. Ignatius Donnelly.* Mr. Pyle "proved" that Bacon concealed in a cipher in Hamlet the prophecy, "Donnelly, the author, politician and mountebank, will work out the secret of this play. The Sage is a daysie."

1888 *The Tale of the Shakespeare Epitaph,* translated from the Anglo-Phonetic by Edward Gordon Clark. Mr. Clark declared that Shakespeare's famous epitaph relates, in cipher, how Shakespeare was drugged and poi-

soned with a potion prepared by Bacon himself, who needed to close Shakespeare's mouth and get him out of the way.

No Cipher in Shakespeare: being a refutation of the Hon. Ignatius Donnelly's "Great Cryptogram," by the Reverend A. Nicholson, LL.D.

Is there any Resemblance between Shakespeare and Bacon? by C. F. Steel. Mr. Steel declared that there is not.

1889 *Mr. Donnelly's Reviewers,* by William D. O'Conner. This was a defense of Donnelly against the many hostile and satirical reviews and editorials which had appeared against him.

The Bacon-Shakespeare Question Answered, by C. Stopes. Mr. Stopes reviewed the progress of the "heresy" up to date, and indignantly confuted it.

1890 In this year Mr. Edwin Reid published the first of his three books, all of which claim the authorship of the plays for Bacon because of "parallel passages." This first book was called *Brief for Plaintiff. Bacon vs. Shakespeare.* In 1899 this was followed by *Francis Bacon our*

Shakespeare and in 1902 by *Bacon and Shakespeare; Parallelisms.*

1892 In 1892 the magazine *Baconiana* was begun. This publication has the purpose of aiding the studies of those who consider Bacon the author of works "not universally acknowledged to be his, including the Shakespeare plays and poems." Anti-Baconians are allowed to contribute. This magazine still appears. Its content ranges from interesting discussions of Seventeenth Century matters to technical instruction in the art of the cipher.

1893 *Sir Francis Bacon's Cipher Story,* discovered and deciphered by Orville W. Owen, M.D. Dr. Owen, a physician of Detroit, Michigan, presented in this volume a complete and amazing story of Bacon's life, which he extracted, after discovering the cipher, from the Shakespeare plays. A little before this time a Mrs. Elizabeth Wells Gallup discovered a similar story of Bacon's life. She exhibits him as a son of Queen Elizabeth, and relates how he used the pen names of Spenser, Greene, Peele, Mar-

lowe, Burton, and Shakespeare for his literary productions.

1902 *The Tragedy of Sir Francis Bacon,* by Harold Bayley. In this book are contained a long discussion of the Rosicrucians, the proof that "the Elizabethan renaissance was not a fortuitous outburst of wit and learning, but the result of a deliberately planned scheme," the declaration that Shakespeare's plays were by Bacon, and that Mrs. Gallup's cipher story was a great discovery.

1908 This year marks the entrance of Mr. G. G. Greenwood, M.P., into the field of the controversy. He is the most intelligent participator. His *The Shakespeare Problem Restated,* published in this year, discusses at length and with moderation the various reasons which one might have for thinking Shakespeare not the author of the plays. He does not put forward the Baconian theory; he laughs at some of the Baconians and admits the claims of others. A reply to this book was read before the Royal Society of Literature, and in 1909 Mr. Greenwood published a *Rejoinder.* In 1916

appeared his *Is There a Shakespeare Problem?* in which he enlarged upon the "Ignorance of Shakespeare" theory. Finally, in 1923, Mr. Greenwood published *Lee, Shakespeare and a Tertium Quid*, a volume directed against Sir Sidney Lee, who had scorned Mr. Greenwood's *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* in his *Life of Shakespeare*.

1909 *Some Acrostic Signatures of Francis Bacon*, by William Stone Booth. Mr. Booth claimed that he discovered Bacon's signature hidden not only in most of the Shakespeare plays, but in the plays of Marlowe and in a poem of Spenser's.

1910 *Bacon is Shake-speare*, by Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence. Sir Edwin, a noted lawyer, puts forward several proofs of Bacon's authorship, including the excellence of the legal phraseology of the plays, "parallel passages," and the word "honorificabilitudinitatibus," from *Love's Labour's Lost*. That word, he declared, is an anagram for *hi ludi F. Baconis nati tuiti orbi*, or, *these plays F. Bacon's offspring preserved for the world*.

Sir Edwin's contributions to the controversy are divided between that volume and his *The Shakespeare Myth,* published in 1912.

1913 In this year appeared two confutations of the Baconians. Mr. Andrew Lang published his *Shakespeare, Bacon, and the Great Unknown,* and J. M. Robertson, M.P., published *The Baconian Heresy. A Confutation.* The arguments from legal phraseology, scholarship, and coincidence of phrase are met and denied.

1914 *The Baconian Theory Refuted—Shakespeare's Use of Legal Terms,* by Clarence Massin Brune, LLD., D.C.L. Mr. Brune showed that the legal phraseology in the plays is amateurish, inexpert, and absurd.

1918 *Sir Francis Bacon's Own Story,* by J. E. Roe. The Sonnets contain the story of Bacon's life.

1922 *The Cryptography of Shakespeare,* by Walter Conrad Arensberg. Mr. Arensberg discovered still another style of cryptogram in the plays—this time "a style originated by Dante." By means of this he discovered "conclusive evidence that *William Shakespeare* is the pseudonym of Francis Bacon."

1926 *The Prince of Poets and most Illustrious of Philosophers,* by S. A. E. Hickson. This, the most up-to-date publication at present, claims that Gascoigne, Laneham, Immerito, Lyly, Broke, Gosson, Webbe, Puttenham, Watson, Lodge, Daniel, Greene, Nashe, Peele, Marlowe, Spenser, Cervantes, Montaigne, Bacon, and Shakespeare were one and the same person. Mr. Hickson forestalled the objection that one man could not write so much by declaring that the total of the work produced under the above names was less than that produced by Goethe.

The above list indicates the directions the controversy has taken. Many smaller publications in the matter have not been included; most of them have pleaded Bacon's authorship on the grounds of legal phraseology, similarity of phrase, Shakespeare's lack of education, cipher, etc.

Most of the orthodox scholars have treated the Baconian controversy with sarcasm or mere contempt. The *Cambridge History of English Literature* barely mentions the existence of the argument.

The article on the Baconians in the Encyclopædia Britannica, however, might well be read. The Baconians are not exclusive; the lists remain open to all who wish to join.

Cos Cob, Connecticut.

THE END

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